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FREE WORLD

NOVEMBER, 1944

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Congress vs. The Executive
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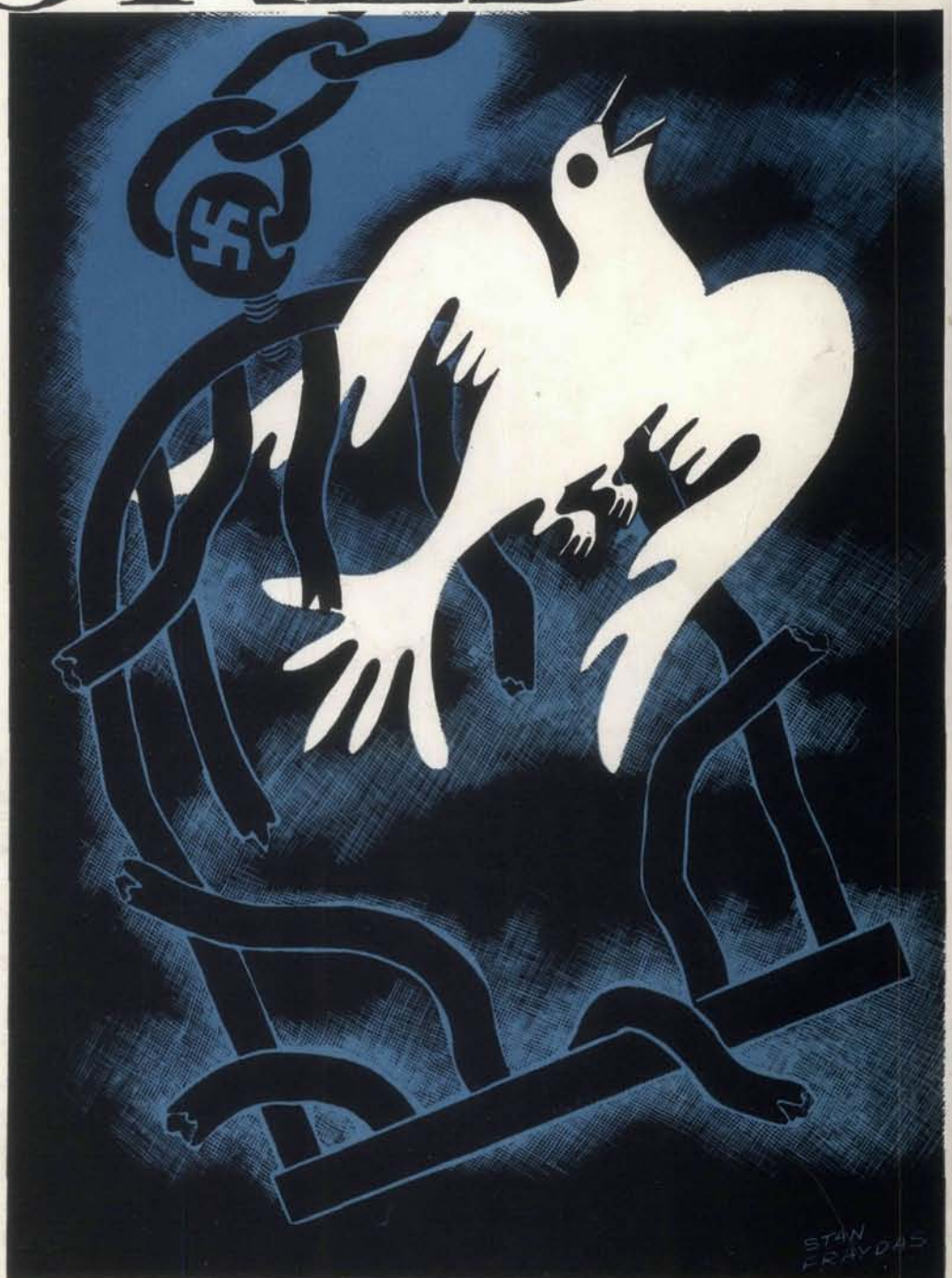

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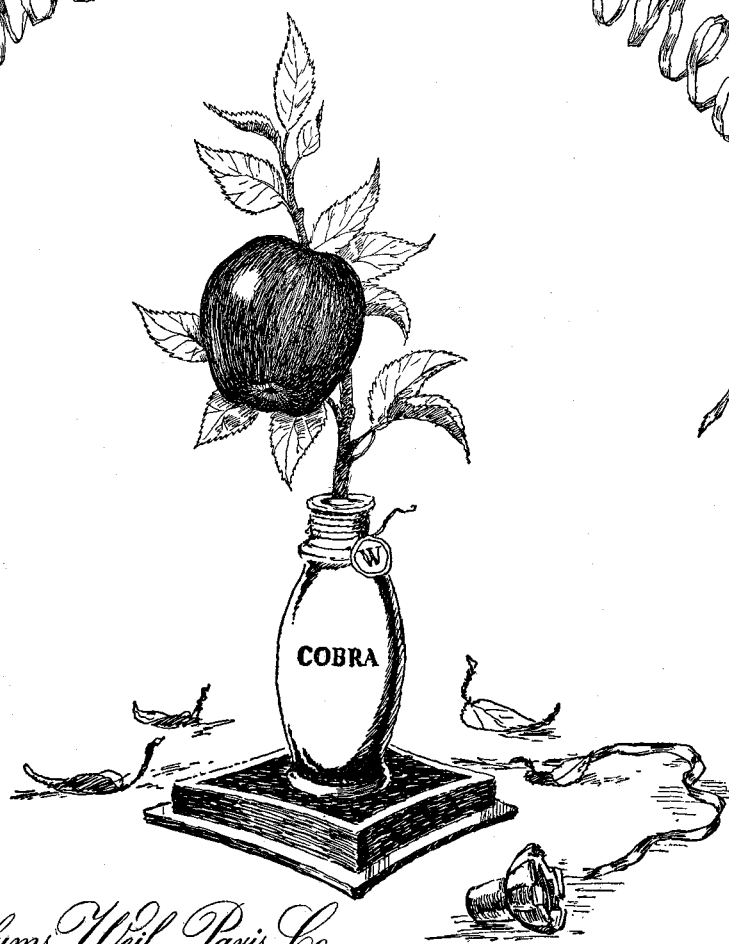

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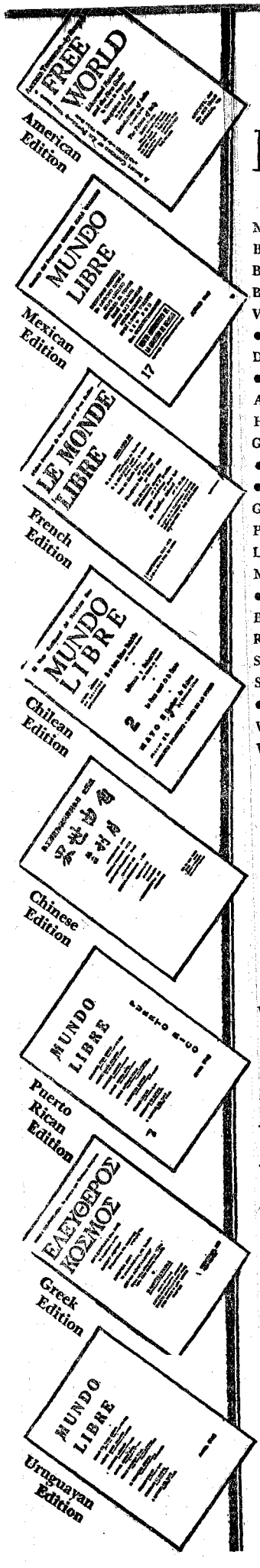

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devoted to

Democracy and World Affairs

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MAN ON THE DARK HIGHROAD

(for Wendell Willkie)

I SAY:

this was a man,
one of the men possessed
of passion for a decent
and undying, undecaying world.

I SAY:

this was a man
seeking as great roots
in depth of the dark earth
and then spreading the flower of growth.

I SAY:

this was a man
walking the great highroads
and summoning his brothers
to their labor and to their reward.

JOSEPH JOEL KEITH

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EDITORIALS

The New Leaders of Europe

AT last many of the Underground leaders of Europe have come out into the open. The mystery which has surrounded their dangerous and dramatic lives is beginning to be lifted. The people of their own countries as well as the other peoples of the world regard them with keenest interest. Everyone is eager to know what the men and women are like who were able to take the helm under the most difficult circumstances any leader ever faced. People want to hear their voices. They want to establish with them the direct human contact which is the basic foundation of confidence between electors and elected in a democratic system. That is why in Paris and in other liberated towns great numbers of people are clamoring for admission to the meetings where the heads of the former Underground speak.

By now most of those who directed the French Underground and many of the leaders of Belgium, Greece and Yugoslavia are known, although some of them have retained their pseudonyms because of continuing danger to their families, to hostages or to Underground movements operating in territories still held by the enemy. These men, as well as the heads of Underground movements in Axis or satellite countries such as Italy, Romania and Bulgaria, have three main characteristics in common:

1. Most of them come from democratic, socialist and communist political movements, as well as from trade unions. Science, literature and education have also furnished some remarkable leaders.
2. Most of them were not in the political limelight before this war; they were what was then called "the second team."
3. All of them are absolutely devoted to democratic principles and they are very eager to face full and free elections as soon as possible.

Looking further into their records we find that they opposed the aggressions of the past and that they did not participate in or approve appeasement policies. They opposed Japanese aggression in Manchuria and Italian aggression in Ethiopia. They were for the Spanish Loyalists and against the Munich Pact. Most of them were in favor of a policy of collective security and in general were followers of liberal policies in both international and domestic fields.

From a personal point of view, the new leaders of Europe represent probably some of the finest types of human beings. This writer had a chance to meet many of them and was always impressed by their fair-mindedness, generosity, and particularly by their desire constantly to increase their knowledge. They can be compared to the small-town American liberal who is always present whenever a good cause is at stake.

Let us take a few examples from the National Council of Resistance of France:

Georges Bidault, at present Foreign Minister and formerly Chairman of the United Resistance groups, was a young editor of the progressive Catholic daily "L'Aube." This was a small paper which was not looked upon with great favor by the higher Catholic hierarchy. But in every important fight,

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whether around republican Spain or on the question of help to anti-nazi refugees, he was always on the side of liberal solutions. Those among us who met him at that time were impressed by his intelligence and his sincerity, and many foresaw that he was a "coming man."

Pierre Meunier, at present Secretary General of the National Council of Resistance, was a young executive in the Treasury Department of France. For many years he was an intimate associate of Pierre Cot, whom many of our readers know from his remarkable writings in FREE WORLD. Meunier represents the type of young liberal Frenchman who has been trained and placed in responsible government administrative work, because of personal initiative and imagination in unraveling complicated problems. Thanks to such training, a man like Meunier was able to assume, during the Underground period, one of the highest positions in France. His appointment as General Secretary is an indication that the habit of giving to so-called experienced, that is, old men all the important jobs, is being radically altered in the emerging Europe. Meunier is not a strict "party-man" (he belonged to the progressive wing of the radical-socialist party—the classical middle-of-the-road party of France). His main desire is to find a liberal solution to every problem as it arises.

It is men of the caliber of Bidault and Meunier who are now rising to prominence on the political scene in France. Represented in the Council are men of all political parties and of the new Underground movements. Some were unknown before the war, but for four long years they risked their lives, and now know that the people will listen to their voices as they did during the dark hours of oppression and struggle. Whether men of prominence or newcomers, they are accomplishing the same job.

In the other European countries we find similar types of men, many of them well-known leftist thinkers and liberals who have been persecuted for long years and who have often been proclaimed politically dead. Their reappearance on the political scene of Europe is most encouraging to liberalism everywhere and is a powerful lesson to those who despair of the cause of progress and who retreat from action because of "utter hopelessness."

During the war one could often hear people say that the old Europe was dead, but the more we look at the new Europe the more we discover in powerful positions old militant fighters for social progress. The old reactionary Europe is dead, but the progressive forces are stronger than ever.

The most remarkable thing about the new leaders of Europe is their desire to maintain at whatever cost the unity which they have established among the various underground forces. One could have feared that wartime unity against fascism would last only as long as fascism itself, and that once that had been defeated the old quarrels would start again. It now appears clearly that common action in great danger has created personal and sentimental ties among the members of various Underground movements which are stronger than the old ideological differences and personality squabbles.

The prospect for a gigantic reconstruction effort in Europe on the basis of the continuing unity of the resistance movements is becoming better every day. A new social, political and humanitarian philosophy is emerging which could best be called "Rejuvenated Democracy." One finds in that ideology a combination of Marxian, humanitarian, ethical and cooperative principles —to label it Marxian or anti-Marxian would be equally wrong. It is a social concept with a strong socialist tendency which might well be the cradle of a

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new progressive political philosophy. I submit that none of the old labels really covers it.

Another common fallacy about an ultra-nationalist wave in Europe is also being contradicted by the events. The reading of the newspapers and other publications in freed territories furnishes ample proof that the European countries are further than ever from chauvinism and more friendly than ever to the fullest cooperation with the United States, with Soviet Russia and with England, within the framework of world organization.

The new leaders of Europe are constantly advocating a constructive policy. They oppose the old rabble-rousing, fanatical methods of political agitation. They expect from the rest of the world the fulfillment of the high ideals which have been set forth by the United Nations, such as the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. They have no use for the legalistic arguments that these are not binding commitments; they only know that thousands of people have risked their lives to spread those ideals as the definitive policy of the United Nations. Europe expects help from the other United Nations in its reconstruction efforts, and is convinced that a strong world organization capable of preventing aggressions or breaking them once they have started is the only solution to the problem of security.

In the already freed portions of Europe symptoms of a healthy new democratic leadership are being multiplied everywhere. The rest of the world can expect from Europe the utmost cooperation in every attempt to create a permanent world organization. It can expect utmost cooperation in an effort to increase international trade and exchange.

There is urgent necessity for the diplomacy of the major United Nations to realize just how much the new leaders of Europe represent constructive hopes for all peoples, and to abandon the old schemes for encouraging "more moderate elements." The elements of appeasement and of Munich, of half-fascism and of sympathy for theories of "order" are dead in today's Europe. The sooner this is understood, the better will be the chances for constructive international cooperation.

LOUIS DOLIVET

The Loyal Protagonist

ANY attempt to canonize Wendell Willkie by endowing him with overblown attributes of great statesmanship and profound political sagacity fails, in our opinion, to render the true homage he deserves. When the echoes of the pulpit panegyrics have died out and we have all recovered from the innocuous inebriation of the funeral orations, we may be able to appraise more justly the worth of Wendell Willkie, and also to estimate the extent of the loss our country and the world have sustained by the passing of this great American.

The name of Wendell Willkie will always be associated with the title of his testament in prose—"One World." If Horace were alive today and dared again to say that it is a sweet and seemly thing to die for your country, no doubt he would be challenged and asked to say what exactly he meant by "your country," and rightly so, since it is something more than patriotism, in the narrower sense of the term, that we are fighting for. Yet in the broader sense the word patriotism is not enough. Willkie supplied that fuller mean-

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ing in bequeathing to us the "One World" concept. It was not a new and original contribution by any means, but it was a fresh, a vigorous, a youthful interpretation of a dream as old as mankind.

We have all heard and read the encomiums bestowed on the fifty-two year old figure—"unorthodox," nonconformist," "Democrat," "Republican," "Wall Street lawyer," "public utility executive." Yet they were all diluted by the conspicuous assertion of both friend and critic that "Wendell Willkie had never held office," that he never carried public responsibility. This, we believe, was a crowning asset, for it enabled him to demonstrate a leadership which lifted his views on war and peace above the level of partisan politics.

Still, Willkie was also emphatically a party politician. He had a fondness for political studies and employment, and was at all times active and faithful in the service of the two political parties to which he belonged. The chief characteristic of his mind was its breadth of view. If not a "philosopher studying politics," he was kind and affable, of a genial temperament, calm and subdued under reverses, and to his credit never manifested the malevolence and acerbity which too often characterize intense political partisans. Among his party associates he always occupied a decidedly prominent place, by reason of his urbanity as well as of his ability. He was quick of apprehension, prolific in suggestions and expedients, and endowed, if not with eloquence, with a readiness and facility of expression in speech or writing which enabled him to carry personal influence equal to any, and much greater than most of his contemporaries.

No time could have been less propitious for the passing of Wendell Willkie. Those of us associated with the FREE WORLD liberalism will miss him most in the days ahead, for he was one of that small group of the "loyal opposition" on whom we might have relied to guide us through the perilous shoals of the transition from war to peace.

He had the understanding and capacity to work with the elected leaders, the men in office, though he did not share the same political viewpoint. He was not of the extremists whose strident voices have been raised lately in pitiless denunciation of the efforts toward world organization.

Marie Antoinette, who was very courageous and very unwise, said during the most acute crisis of the Revolution, "Better to die than allow ourselves to be saved by Lafayette and the Constitutionalists." That is an example of the party spirit *in extremis,* and when it is adopted it is that spirit which causes the shipwreck of many a scheme which might, with more moderation and conciliation, be brought safely into port. In order to carry out Wendell Willkie's ideas, any such spirit must be wholly cast aside. Politicians must act on the principle which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Henry V:

> There is some soul of goodness in things evil
> Would men observingly distil it out.

They must be prepared to recognize that, whatever be their personal convictions, there may be some "soul of goodness" in views diametrically opposed to their own, and, moreover, they must not be scared by what Emerson called that "hobgoblin of little minds" into making the charge of inconsistency.

We are certain that Wendell Willkie has not taken his dream along with him into his grave.

BURNET HERSHEY

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Close-ups From the Battlefronts

I

NAZIS CAN'T "TAKE IT"

By
Guy Byam

By Cable from Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces

From Europe's battlefronts come these two eyewitness accounts, exclusive to FREE WORLD, describing the strengths and weaknesses of the Nazis, on the ground and in the air. The authors are both BBC correspondents who saw action from D-Day to Arnhem.

TO pass judgment on the present state of the German Wehrmacht would be very difficult. On two occasions, however, when assigned to air-borne forces, I have had the opportunity of observing very closely the German soldier in combat.

From our D-Day landing out of the sky near Caen to Arnhem in Holland is a very long way. Much has happened both to our own forces and to the German army in between. German morale, if anything, appears to me to be a little better. The German Army as a whole before D-Day had severe attacks of jitters, but once it settled down to fighting and once the German soldier had no time to think of anything else, his morale seems to have crystallized considerably.

Add to this the growing feeling that here he was finally defending the very fringes of his Heimat or homeland and you will understand that the majority of German troops are at the moment a stubborn and, in many cases, desperate enemy.

There are, however, certain basic weaknesses in the German Army which have stood out ever since D-Day and which, in my opinion, have little or no chance of being remedied. They would appear to be largely the results of two prominent features, firstly the tremendous beating taken by the Wehrmacht in Russia and, secondly, a relentless pounding from the skies, as the result of our total superiority in the air.

Fundamentally, these weaknesses represent, above all, the German lack of man-

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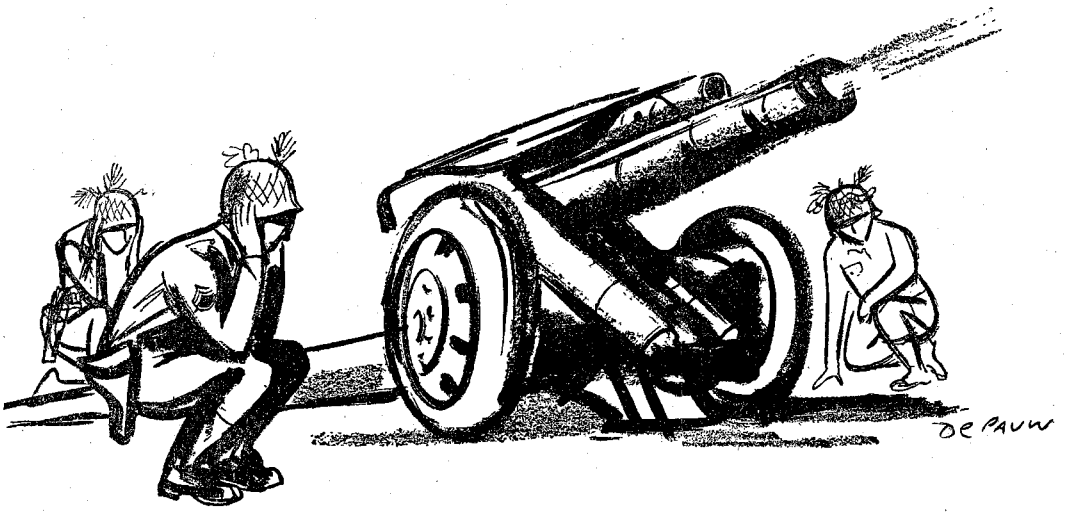

power. Nothing but a serious man-power crisis could account for the lack of homogeneity in German units encountered today in the field. Apart from a few elite formations, this is now apparent right through the German Army. Secondly, and probably more surprising, is the German lack of artillery. The German Army seems to have used what industrial resources it had in the construction of a large number of immobile guns of large caliber, which were used from all around the Atlantic Wall and in defense of the positions which guard Germany itself. What mobile artillery in any quantity the German Army had, it appears to have either lost or dissipated in Russia.

I have never experienced on one single occasion a really effective counter-battery fire. This, despite the fact that the Germans have had for some four years now, an excellent gun, the 176 mm. which is fully mobile. The use of these guns, for instance, for the shelling of lateral roads around the Seine Bay—would have caused great difficulties to the Allies on and after D-Day. Little of this appears to have happened.

The German, on the other hand, makes up partly for his lack of artillery by his excellent use of mortars—highly mobile and devastating against troops who are not well dug in. I have been under heavy German mortar fire a number of times, and observed how hard it is to counter it, for not only does it outrange our own mortars, but it is extremely difficult to locate, either by sound ranging or other methods, and is so mobile as to be extremely difficult to counter with artillery fire. The same can be said, to a degree, regarding the German use of self-propelled guns. These, however, are rarely met in sufficient numbers to be really effective, and they represent ideal targets for fighter-bombers or rocket firing aircraft.

Nazi Infantrymen

WHAT of the German infantry itself? Here again great inconsistencies are to be found, in my opinion, in the training and handling of their troops. The German is excellent in using troops in sections and platoons. Penny packets of upward of fifty men are used very often with far-reaching results. Their field craft, their use of infiltration and their excellent weapon handling enable these small units to fight delaying actions which are often both costly and very tiresome to our advancing armies.

It is when the German starts to use men in a strength of a company upwards that he seems to lose all the qualities he shows when fighting with smaller formations. On many occasions, he seems to move his infantry in a sluggish and uninspired fashion, often offering excellent targets to artillery and aircraft. I recall an occasion when the Sixth British Air-borne Division, which was holding the left flank of the Allied invasion into Normandy, had in its perimeter a wooded area probed incessantly by small parties of men. The results they achieved were not inconsiderable.

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Fortified and encouraged by what they were doing, the Germans decided to put in a major attack on our positions. Their patrols must have given their battalion commander full knowledge of our own positions. The attack, however, turned out to be a blundering attempt to push about two companies of men in open formation across a cornfield whose two sides were flanked by our paratroops in fair strength and in good positions. Our men, with their excellent fire discipline, held their fire until the last moment, and completely liquidated this abortive German attempt to attack.

The same story can be told of Arnhem, where the German in the most bitter fighting I have ever experienced, achieved some results when he pushed forward sections of infantry and snipers. But realizing he would never get through our perimeter, he tried on three occasions to bludgeon his way through with masses of infantry. Every time he seems to have forgotten the meaning of the word field-craft or the gospel of infiltration which he preaches on many occasions so excellently, and he came blundering in to be cut to bits.

The German Army is still today excellent. It is, however, in grave difficulties. Its soldiers and, indeed, its officers suffer from the faults which are so inherent in the German race: a lack of plasticity, a tendency to avoid use of everyday common sense, a savage and sometimes fanatical determination to stand and fight without regard, often, for terrain or position, and more than that, without regard for the general strategical benefits that can be achieved.

The German Army was built to dance to the tune of German victories, but once the enemy, be it Russian, British or American, calls the tune, the German Army finds the going extremely hard. Provided we prevent the Wehrmacht from ever getting the initiative at any time, I have no doubts that, as an organized force, its days are numbered.

II

HERE PASSES THE LUFTWAFFE

By
E. Colston Shepherd

By Cable from Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces

THE state of the German Air Force has been somewhat obscured since the Allied landings in France by the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Allied Air Forces and by the inexplicable refusal of the German High Command to employ the Luftwaffe to oppose the weighty Allied preparations before the landings. Only within the past month have the Germans reacted at all strongly to Allied air attacks, and only during that period has an observer been able to form an opinion as to the quality of the German Air Force in these later days.

Even now any examination of quality tends to be confused by the somewhat premature introduction by Germans of jet-propelled aircraft into the air operations near the fighting fronts in Europe. These new types of aircraft have been thrown somewhat gingerly into the fighting in quite small numbers. They are found to be extremely hard to catch by orthodox fighters, but they are found also to be relatively innocuous as fighters, probably because they are being put into action before their pilots are fully trained in the use of them. As bombers they have had no greater success.

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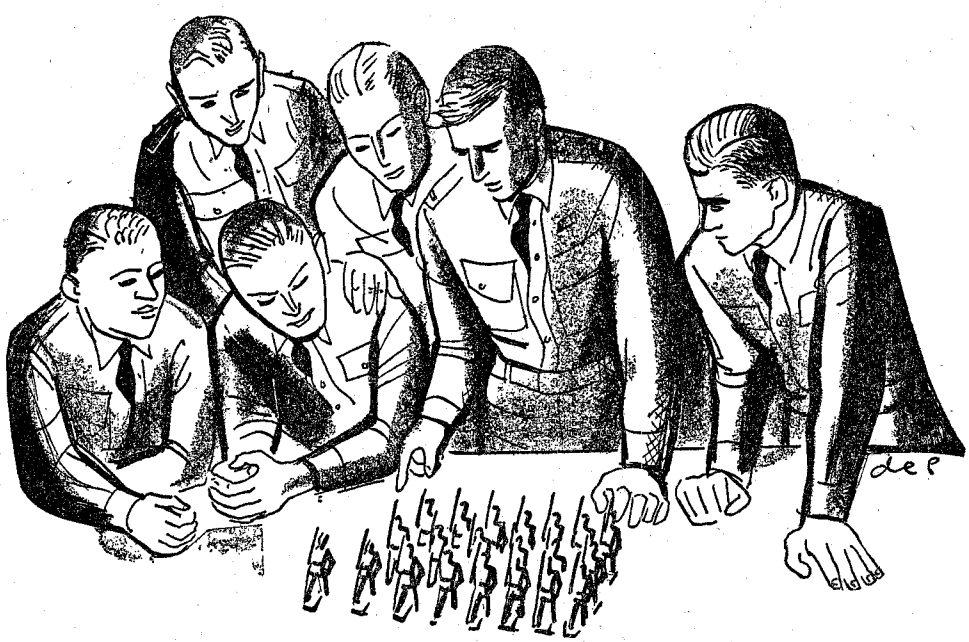
This is no doubt to be explained by their inability, because of their high speeds, to take usual evasive action when attacked. Pilots no doubt are conscious of the danger of blacking out if they make violent turns to evade attacks by Allied fighters.

Introduction of these aircraft, not more than thirty of which have been seen on any day, helps to explain the ineffectiveness of those orthodox German fighters which are now doing their best to oppose Allied air activity, both deep in Germany and over battle areas. Their appearance explains why such aircraft as the Fockewulf 190 and Messerschmitt 109 have not been improved so consistently as aircraft like the Spitfire and the Mustang which now give great satisfaction on the Allied side. What evidently has happened in the German Air Force is that fighter strength has been built up with great urgency—with such urgency in fact that production could not be interrupted sufficiently to allow improvements and modifications to be made. Germans have relied on obtaining superior performance from their jet-driven airplanes, and have once more put their faith mainly in numbers rather than quality in the rest of their air force.

To judge the Luftwaffe, therefore, on the evidence of the past three months, is to pass judgment on the policy underlying it rather than on the air crews which are now manning its aircraft. They are in a position of having to use orthodox aircraft which are inferior in performance to those of the Allies with the addition of a quite small number of jet-driven aircraft in use of which they are still relatively unskilled.

The opinion of those who have encountered the German fighters in action is that their pilots are no less brave and dashing than were the pilots of Germany's hey-day. Their lack of success nevertheless arises from another factor besides that of their equipment. German anxiety to build up a fighter force to its former numerical strength has carried the Luftwaffe to the length of reducing the period of training and trusting



to experience in service squadrons to bring pilots and navigators up to the standard of other days.

In choosing this means of accelerating expansion, the Germans have probably been influenced by critical diminution of their fuel stocks. Petrol and oil are being reserved in these days for operational purposes and as little as possible is being devoted to training. A whole series of causes can therefore be said to have led up to the present qualitative inferiority of the Luftwaffe in relation to its opponents. Some of those causes are to be traced back to the heavy bombing program directed against the aircraft and aero engine factories and against synthetic oil plants and reserve stores of oil.

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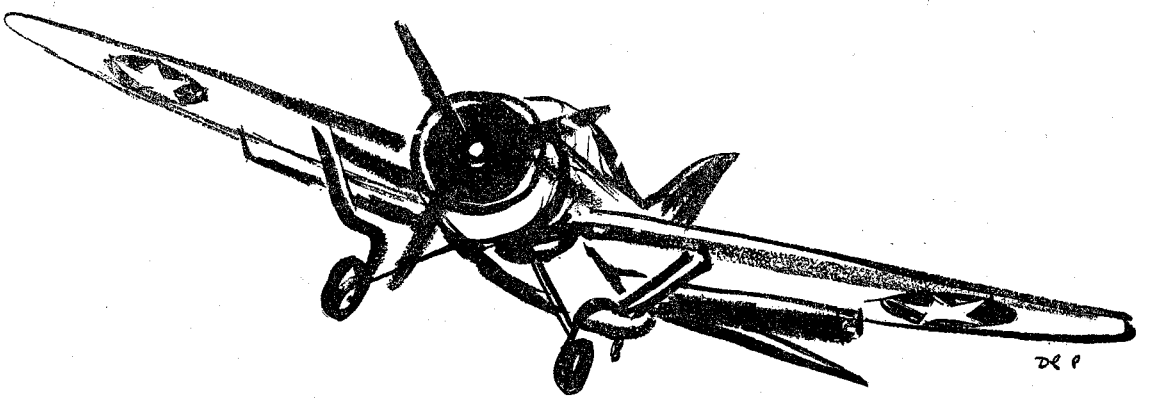


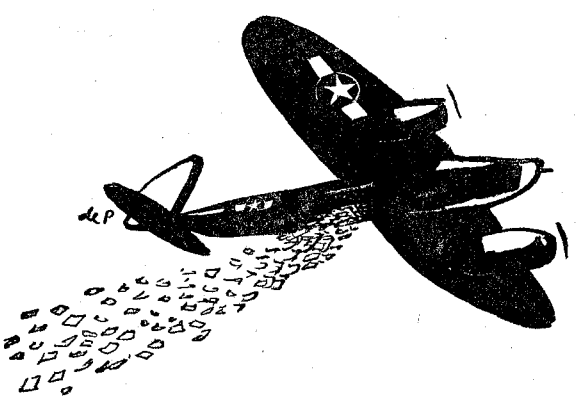
Luftwaffe Still Strong

THERE are grounds for believing that the German fighter force is now as strong numerically as ever it was. The measure of its ineffectiveness is to be seen particularly in the freedom of Allied heavy bombers to undertake bombing of the most devastating kind, both in support of the armies and far beyond them in the heart of Germany. The unopposed tactical bombing which has proceeded at intervals from Caen on through Le Havre, Brest, Boulogne and Calais may serve as the most striking example of the Luftwaffe's impotence. Traditionally, the Luftwaffe is intended to serve in close association with the Army. The Allied bombing which was done to support military designs at all those places might have been expected to draw the Luftwaffe into the most concentrated opposition. Bombing was done by big, slow aircraft against which fighters might normally be employed most profitably. Yet all those operations proceeded without any serious opposition from German fighters.

In a tactical sense, German fighters are still rarely employed as fighters. During the attempt by the British air-borne troops to hold a bridgehead across the Rhine at Arnhem, German fighters were thrown into the fight to attack supply aircraft. As soon as that adventure was finished they were used almost exclusively as fighter-bombers.

Only inside Germany are fighters still being employed consistently on fighter duties, and the best evidence of their inability to match themselves against Allied equipment is to be found in the success of the Allied escort fighters which have to be encumbered on this duty with their long-range fuel tanks.

Nothing in air warfare of the past three months has given any grounds for believing in a true revival of the German Air Force. It is still outnumbered. It is now undoubtedly inferior in quality, and its supply of aircraft of new types is so limited as to be unlikely to alter the general balance as between air forces during the rest of this year.



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Germany On the Anvil

By HERBERT COREY

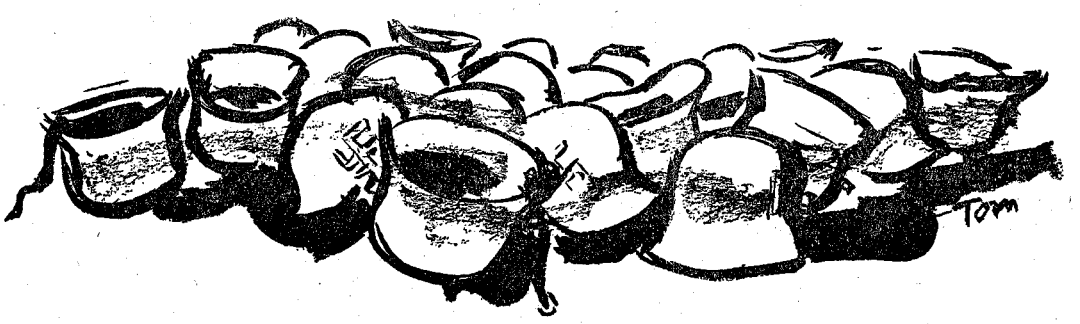
A VETERAN Washington analyst and war correspondent takes a fresh slant on the topic of "supreme Allied strategy," and gives the reader a vivid conception of the effects of our steamroller in action.

NOTHING is less predictable than war. On the day the reader picks up this copy of the FREE WORLD many unpleasant things may have taken place. A flood, a dead general, the nasty winter weather to which Europe is addicted, the failure of the Red Ball line to get its hard driven trucks through on time to the supply depots—all probable, improbable and impossible things may have conspired to upset schedules. Not long ago American soldiers caught a German general with his pants literally off in his nicely heated quarters. That general must have had all the information anyone could have had. It was the unexpected that happened. A lone American corporal, out on a scouting trip, entered a house that seemed deserted.

"Hands up, you guys," he shouted. "You're pinched."

A German colonel and five officers of his staff sat up in their blankets. They were hideously annoyed. But the large blue Colt in the corporal's hands exerted its customary authority. They plodded back to the American lines, hands over their heads, leaving what was left of a regiment as headless as the chicken for the Sunday pot. They are not yet convinced that the affair was regular. Neither is the corporal. He did not even want them.

Therefore it seems silly to me, at this particular stage of the fighting in Europe, to review what has recently happened and what might happen, D.V., in the immediate future. Cities are being blasted into road metal, and not one American in 50 has even read their names before. Generals Patton and Patch and Hodges and the rest are colorful gentry and we enjoy reading about their exploits. We mutter in our beards



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when on the one hand we read that 92 per cent of the American soldiers on the German border were without winter overcoats days after the sleet was freezing in their foxholes and on the other that the Army Service Forces—which have on the whole done a marvelous job of supply—sent two shiploads of telegraph poles, complete with cross arms and insulators, to a Signals outfit, who continued to pull their thin wires over the ground just as all Signals outfits have always done. Having been thus softened up we next read an article about the Grand Strategy of the campaign.

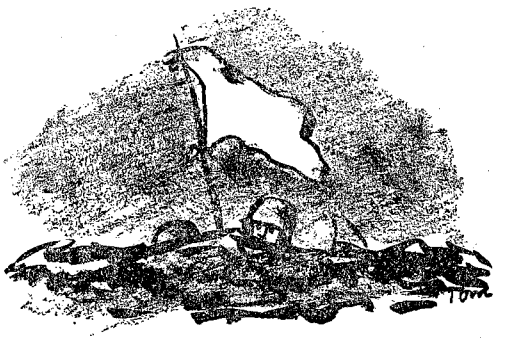
That reading time is wasted.

The days of Grand Strategy in this war are ended. They were crossed off the calendar when the Americans and British landed on the Normandy beaches, and then crashed the German lines. The Germans have every right to be rated as first rate soldiers—barring the croupy boys and rheumy old men who were sacrificed in order that better soldiers might get into position. The Americans and British were outnumbered and outweaponed in those early days of the fighting in France. They also outmarched the Germans, and used their brains instead of depending on their textbooks, and so did things the Germans knew they could not do.

But that was the last of the Grand Strategy of the war in Europe, so far as can be seen at this moment.

From that time on our strategy was simply that of force.

A power tool sometimes fails to crush the steel bar on which it is centered. Then the mechanic applies more force. Presently the bar flattens. Sometimes there is a short circuit and operations are halted until the break is repaired. The Yanks and the British and the Canadians have been held up from time to time while their supply lines, which begin in New York and Montreal and Liverpool, and are subject to every deviltry Nature and applied mechanics can furnish, get the stuff up to the front over the one-way pikes on which ten-wheel trucks run lightless at night. The front line soldiers get a chance to snatch a little sleep at night, in that curious star-shaped, back to back cluster which shares what little heat may be in their tired bodies.



Renew the Smash

No time is really lost. They needed the rest. When the chow and the ammunition finally reaches them they are r'aring again to go. That delay was no part of Grand Strategy. Nor will their renewed smash forward be strategic. Even if it were we would not be told of it until the operation was ended and a new one started, of which we would not be told. It's force now. Nothing but force. The plan is simply to crush German towns; crush is precisely the right word; to fill their streets with the dusty masonry of what were once their houses; and to kill as many Germans as possible; and to keep on killing Germans while one remains to set a mine or snipe from behind the stump of a tree.

That is a program. It is winning the war. If the war is not being won as rapidly as seemed possible six weeks ago, for the Germans are fighting magnificently, it has this advantage. The longer they fight the more Germans will be killed and the more towns smashed. But it is not strategy. The Allied generals wish to wind the war up as quickly as possible. That is the soldier's scheme of campaigning, and has always been. It is no secret that at least one element in the Joint Command believes that only by bringing home to each individual German just what a lost war can be can there be a reasonable assurance of future peace in the world.

Ike Eisenhower spoke for them when he said the Allied troops would not enter Germany as oppressors, but as conquerors. That implies a complete reduction of the German will to the will of their masters. If a local fuehrer or burgomeister is caught playing tricks he will be punished. If a local judge

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refuses to hold court, or, having held court, does not administer honest justice, he will be punished, and he can take his chances with his own people when all is over. Snipers will be shot. Guerrillas will be hunted down.

Force.

It is true that already voices are heard in both England and America pitying "the poor Germans." There are business men who hope to get back to business at the earliest possible moment, no matter how much that might accelerate the coming of the Third War. There are the pacifists. There is the multitude of good, kindly, soft-hearted people who believe that the good Germans outnumber the Nazis and that the Allies should temper justice with an enormous quantity of mercy. There are politicians in all the Allied countries who set their eyes on future politics and power to be gained through ex-enemy votes.

But so far as can be anticipated in Washington all of them put together could not secure a "soft peace" for Germany. Not at this time, at least.

And it must be remembered that the men of the Joint Command will be in command of the situation.

No peace can be declared until the generals say that peace is a reality, and they have it in their power to refuse to say any such thing until every hamlet in Germany knows that this time the Germans have been found guilty and condemned. One hears these things. Few doubt that Russia will play the game that way. Russia must have 25 years or more of safety in order to repair her losses. Today Russia is trying to buy 2,000,000 crutches in the United States and cannot get one-tenth as many. Her statesmen have made it very clear that her safety can only be secured if Germany is made impotent, and having in mind the peculiar racial characteristics of the Germans, that conviction of impotence—say the Russians—can only be secured by a defeat and an occupation they can see and hear and feel.

Bludgeon in the East

RUSSIA has been beating down the Nazi resistance in the east in a formidable, heavy-shouldered, bloody fashion. Her generals have out-smarted the Germans. Although the Nazis began this war and called a new tune of mechanized speed and strength they seem not to have fully realized that the terms have changed somewhat. The maxims that were good in Clausewitz's time are antiquated. Just as the American and British generals have done in the west the Russians from the outset of their offensive campaign—after Stalingrad—have continually struck from new angles. The "pincers" movement has been a favorite of the Germans. The Russian counterplay has been to strike at distant points and at other armies and so upset the formal Nazi plan.

So far as can be learned in Washington, Uncle Joe Stalin has not missed a single diplomatic move. He has collaborated with his Allies loyally and vigorously in all military matters. He has at times shown some

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impatience because of what seemed our dilatory methods at the beginning of the war, but on good authority it may be said that he has at all times fully comprehended the situation. If he grumbled it was because Russia was suffering so brutally. His single aim is to strengthen tomorrow's Russia and make her secure. He has shown himself willing to cooperate on any or all Dumbarton Oaks agreements—just so long as they give Russia more strength and security.

Not—not—otherwise.

Russia's military plan—as seen here—is to take now what she will want in the future.

But in the taking she will reduce Germany's military power by today's deaths and by the loss of tomorrow's positions, quite as effectively as though she permitted Washington and Whitehall to write a broader program. Stalin is grateful for the material aid America has given, he is looking forward to years of trade interchange with us while he is restoring Russia's farms and factories, and he is reported to be unable to see any probability that our political interests can clash with those of the Soviets. In his recent visit to Moscow Eric Johnston is reported to have reassured Stalin as to the probability of future understanding and collaboration.

But Stalin must see the future profit clearly.

These reflections may seem to have wandered a long road from the conduct of the war in Europe, and the disappearance of the Grand Strategy and the emergence of huge force as the presiding factor in the war. In fact they are to the point. It is no longer of importance in the program which armies go where and when. If one is held up by the desperately fighting Germans another mashes into the nazi lines somewhere else. No one need worry now because of an apparent delay in the east or west. The harder the fighting the more Germans are killed. Stops here and there mean only delousing and rest camps and warm fires at night while the bread and beans are brought forward. Now and then it may even appear that the Allied armies are moving in a leisurely fashion, but that is only because an immense and complicated structure cannot be so easily inspected as a racing sulky. The movement is going on all the time.

As to the elements of that Force which the three Great Powers are exerting they are so numerous and so powerful that the lay mind can hardly comprehend them. Our planes cannot take and hold the German land, of course. They suffer losses now and then. But they so fill the air that one day with another the Luftwaffe is only able to make hit and run resistance. They smash cities into shards. One of the finest German divisions in what may only be called a fit of wild hysteria tried to get through into Aachen. It was the most senseless operation of the war, for if the Nazis had succeeded they could not have relieved the city, and would only have added to the numbers to be killed. Air power fairly blew that division off the map.

The Germans have made us pay dearly for our recent gains. But their "culls," as our men call them, are not much more than a nuisance. They hardly need guarding. One G.I. can handle a regiment. But our artillery fires by parks instead of by singles. The process will not end—unless the Combined Chiefs of Staff are ordered to stop before the job is done—until all Germany smokes and whimpers. Our force is the movement of a red-hot glacier over a wind-torn wood. That Force is so huge and so irresistible that the only need for political discussion will be between the Allied statesmen. And that discussion will not be of real importance until Force has done its business, and the Germans will be told to "sign here."

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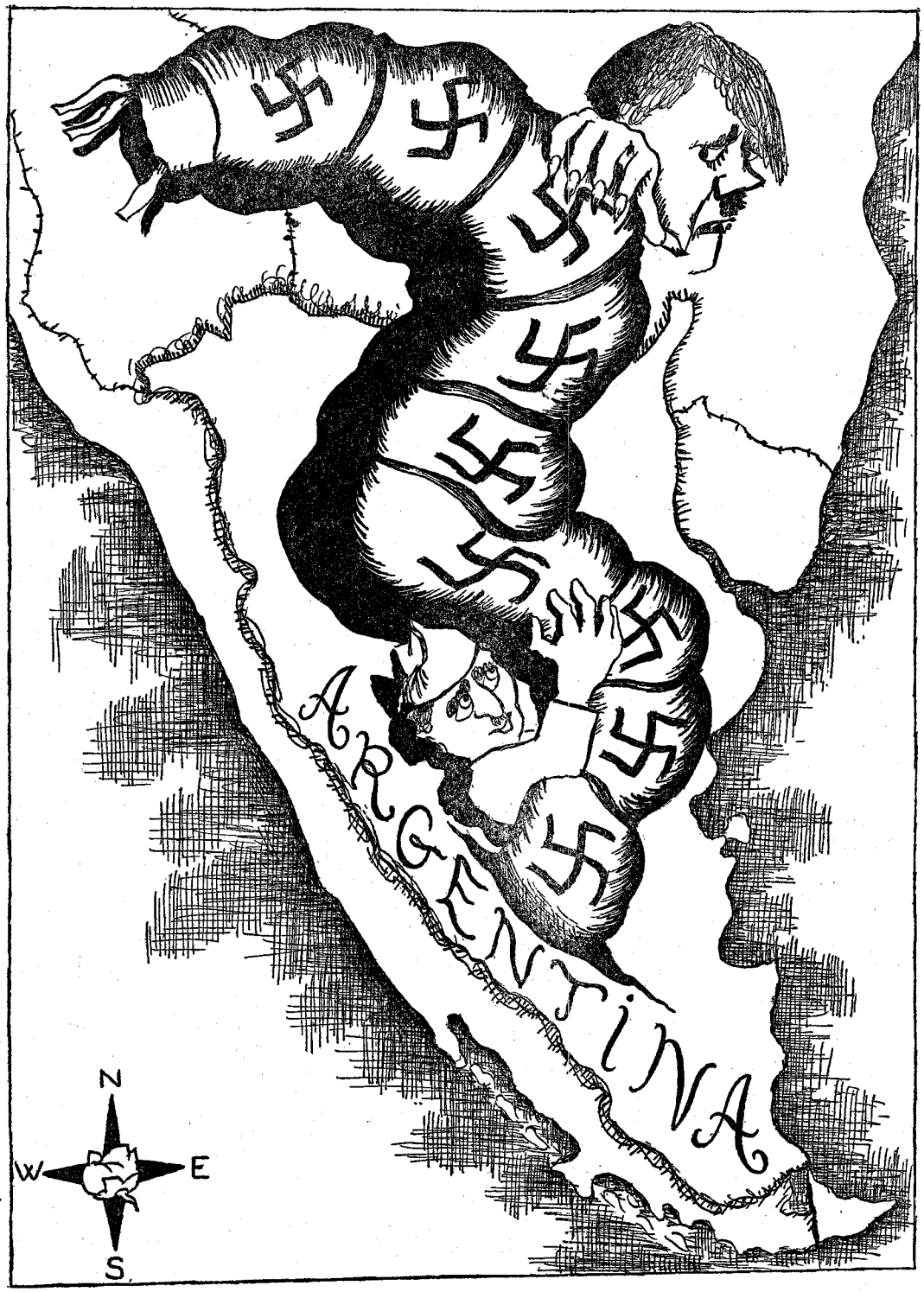

Argentina Breeds the Nazi Caterpillar

(Drawing by Luis Quintanilla)

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I ACCUSE

An Indictment Of Argentine NAZIS

By
Luciano Molinas

The renowned leader of Argentine democrats exposes the nazi-fascist dictatorship that usurped the power and will of his people.

I HAVE come to the Republic of Uruguay in response to a command of my conscience as a citizen. The road to collapse down which the country has been led since the presidency of Dr. Castillo cannot be adequately portrayed. Nothing disturbs me more than the conviction that the country is seeking its destiny along channels far removed from the current of its history. It has put itself before America and the world as a fortress of nazi-fascism, struggling to survive the inevitable disaster which the victorious armies of the United Nations are bringing to such ideologies.

My loyalty to my country is indestructible. Nothing in life can break the ties by which I am bound to the land of my birth. That is why, without measuring the difficulties, I want to say and will try to show that the vast majority of the Argentines stand with the cause of America and the other nations that are fighting for liberty against dictatorship and aggression.

The recent governments have not represented public opinion and have prevented the citizens from expressing their most cherished and deeply felt convictions. The Republic has always responded to the principles of democracy, and has a tradition of clear and clean conduct. On battlefields, in diplomacy, and in arbitration, its spirit was established and committed to loyal respect for, and cooperation in continental solidarity. I can even say that until the presidency of Castillo there was no government nor party which did not follow that honorable tradition in foreign affairs. And in all the vicissitudes of our history no nation could even suppose that Argentina would ever take any other position. Its signature on international agreements was the law which marked its destiny.

To speak of more recent events, I can invoke the Declaration of Lima in the formulation of which we assisted, and which fixed, in days presaging the battles for Europe, the solidarity of all America. Afterwards came the conferences of Panama and Havana. In the latter the representatives of the twenty-one Republics of the continent said, "Any attempt on the part of a non-American State against the integrity or inviolability of the territory, the sovereignty or the political independence of an American State shall be considered as an act of aggression against the States which sign this declaration."

Pearl Harbor

ON the 7th of December, 1941, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, aiming a heavy blow at the naval forces of the Pacific. President Castillo, giving his opinion to the journalists at once said: "We are neutral." Minutes later, when his statement was noticed in Washington and a message sent back to my country to ask for official confirmation, the president was warned that he

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could not thus give loose rein to his feelings, that there were obligations to fulfill. He submitted for the time being, but in his telegram to President Roosevelt he was able to tell him only that the Nipponese aggression was "lamentable."

The Ambassador of the United States, in the name of his government, asked for an expression of the Argentine government's opinion in view of the recent events and of the inter-American accord that was in force. The Minister, Ruiz Guiñazu replied, "The Argentine government takes note of the aggression committed against the integrity and sovereignty of that country and has adjusted its conduct to the situation by reciprocal assistance and defensive cooperation foreseen by Declaration Fifteen of the Havana Conference of which the Argentine Government is a signatory." A little later he sent instructions to our Ambassador in Washington to inform the Secretary of State that his country would not be considered a belligerent nation. Castillo's hand was forced against his will, but the "reciprocal assistance and defensive cooperation" to which he was obligated, he was not inclined to produce.

After the Japanese aggression, and under the sway of the state of siege, the publication of anything which referred to international policy was prohibited. Ever since that day the press, the political parties, and students of international law have been condemned to silence. The position of neutrality in which the country had been placed was carried to the most inconceivable extremes. Nations at war would permit and do permit the free expression of thought of their legislators and citizens. Among us, they prohibited the printing by the newspapers of the conclusions reached by the Committee of the Chamber of Deputies in its investigation of anti-Argentine activities. Censorship was extended even to speeches made in the Congress building itself.

One could expect this. On the 7th of October, 1941 in a speech made in Rosario, Castillo defended his scheme, saying: "Foreign problems should not disturb us simply because Argentina is not, nor can it be, anything other than Argentina. All the rest is a different question, a distinct ideal, diverse interests."

President Vargas had said, "Wherever American nations may be, they should be sister nations of the Continent and we the Brazilians shall be among them, ready to begin the battle in the common defense." In marked contrast, Castillo, at a banquet of chiefs and officers of the army at which he presided in his capacity of Commander in Chief, said to let the interventionists go to——, for whoever opposed this attitude was despicable. He summed up, "I am the one who can and should give the order to fire."

Homage to Roosevelt

SHORTLY afterward a group of the most renowned citizens organized a public demonstration for President Roosevelt. The initiative had come during the tense days that preceded Pearl Harbor. It sought an open manifestation of Argentine opinion, which was concerned with the defense of democracy and liberty all over the world. The demonstration was forbidden and all that was allowed was transmission of a message to the United States by radio. In this the great majority of the people of the Federal capital, Buenos Aires, evidenced their ideal of American solidarity, repudiating the Argentine policy. Such a policy was the more censurable in view of the action against aggression already agreed to in the Havana Accord.

The days designated for the Rio de Janeiro conference were approaching and the country began to have the feeling that the government was pursuing a tortuous line of conduct. Echoes of a solidarity without reservations came from the sister nations of America, while casuistic qualifications and evasive words issued from the *Casa Rosada*. We might have said to the United States that we recognized the aggression against its integrity and sovereignty and that we were prepared to adjust our conduct to the situation by reciprocal aid and defensive cooperation. Instead, from the Argentine Chancellery came the suggestion that Pearl Harbor was not geographically in the continent, insinuating reservations over its contracted and ratified obligations.

Castillo alluded to "foreign problems," while the Chancellor reduced his reservations to their simplest form in the expression "Continental solidarity, but our own policy." Nothing was said of our agree-

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ments. There were verbal expressions only for America, and a free hand was asserted to lead the country in domestic and foreign affairs.

These men even tried to ingratiate themselves with other governments, calling attention to the fact that they had defined their position in the war and initiating a diplomacy of combinations, contrary to the clear and noble traditions of our country.

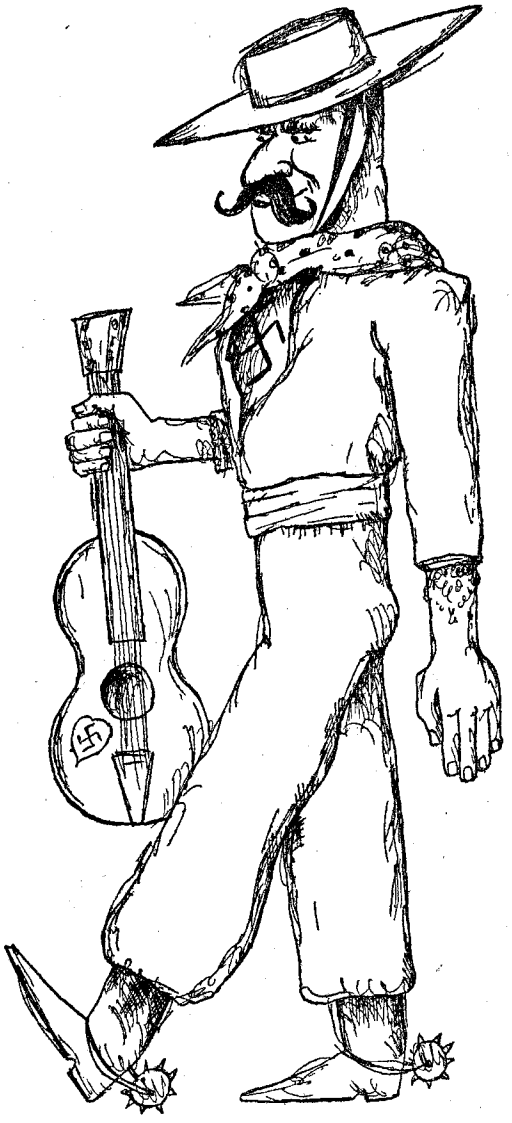
Rio Conference

THE delegations of Peru, Chile, and Paraguay on their way through Buenos Aires were sounded out with proposals which could never be advantageous. The Minister of the Republic of Uruguay, who had also considered going through Buenos Aires, refrained from making the trip. At the Buenos Aires banquet served in honor of the delegations Dr. Ruiz Guiñazu toasted "the brotherhood of the southern Republics" emphasizing the need for keeping the peace in South America, and for a regional economic and political organization embracing the neighboring countries.

If the A B C (Argentine-Brazil-Chile) entente was a thing of the past, the intention of reviving it at a time when war had reached five continents was vain. The idea of a southern bloc was stupid in the face of the necessity for the defense of the whole hemisphere which was going to be considered at Rio. The Argentine Minister understood the failure of his efforts when the Minister of Foreign Affairs from Chile, speaking in the name of all those invited said: "In America there is no room for distinctions among north, south and central. There is only one brotherhood, that of *all* the American people."

Abandoned in his position, Guiañzu went to see off the guests one by one. They kept their distance, convinced of our position. The Minister later went to Rio alone, something he had not wanted to do, carrying in his pocket a speech on the expediency of totalitarianism. He traveled alone with his advisers, and was afraid even to take an American airplane.

In the atmosphere of Rio, Argentina's isolation was apparent. When the plans of the delegations of Mexico, Colombia, and Venezuela to break relations with the Axis



were presented, Dr. Ruiz Guiñazu passed judgment as follows: "From Argentina's point of view, one still cannot say whether the proposal to break relations with the Axis is satisfactory or not."

Thus, the delegation seemed to be without any definite opinion about the most important question to be decided. Added to that was the threat contained in the notice already given by the Ambassadors of Germany, Japan and Italy that a break of relations meant war for them. The Conference followed a long and difficult procedure in reaching a concrete expression which would

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satisfy the Argentine delegation. They sought consideration for our country and insisted on unanimity in the pronouncement. Finally, it was believed that the efforts had been successful, and acceptance was given by our Minister. But after the first satisfaction came the disillusionment. Ruiz Guiñazu stated the following day that his Government was not disposed to conform to what he agreed upon. It wanted to eliminate the reference "collective" solidarity of all the American nations. Always its own policy.

In the third article of the Declaration which was formulated, it says: "The American Republics, in accordance with the procedures established by their own laws and in conformity with the position and circumstances obtaining in each country in the existing continental conflict, recommend the breaking of their diplomatic relations with Japan, Germany and Italy." Argentina wanted it to read, "They *may* recommend the breaking of diplomatic relations." The Declaration also said: "The American Republics reaffirm their complete solidarity and their determination to cooperate jointly for their mutual protection until the effects of the present aggression against the Continent have disappeared." The Conference ended its task, but in Argentina we all had the feeling that our Government would not break relations. Thus we were in the position of recommending to the other countries what we were resolved not to do. We had gone to Rio to deceive. For the first time our Republic failed to honor the international agreements it had freely signed.

German Espionage

FOR all that, the Axis leaders in Argentina continued to work under the direction of the Ambassadors of Germany and Japan. Espionage took all possible forms and the nazi press, definitely protected by the Government, was the best collaborator in distracting public attention, sowing suspicions and prejudices against the United States and other American Republics. Nor should I omit the fact that the Argentine state accepted the task of representing the interests of nations which declared war on the United States. Japan and Italy accepted the offer. Japanese diplomats were even offered passage in our ship "Rio de la Plata." Afterward they were reminded that international agreements prevented the Argentine Government from carrying this out, but the desire and willingness had been demonstrated.

During the first months of 1942, the campaign for the election of half the Chamber of Deputies was begun. The state of siege and the severity of its application in respect to observation and criticism of international policy interfered with the examination and formation of opinion concerning our situation. The official faction carried the banner of neutrality and it alone was allowed to speak to the people. It asked for votes to back the international policy of the Government, it endeavored to bring about a "plebiscite of peace." Portraits of Castillo as "the leader" were posted on walls in every street, after the manner of the nazi-fascist regimes. Although the time was one of the most scandalous frauds my country has ever known, if the figures of the election returns were analyzed, they would give a majority of votes against the Government, even though all the spurious votes which the people never had cast were counted into the totals.

Delegations were sent to the United States under the pretext of protecting our country under the Lend-Lease law. The delegates were very careful to distinguish the "technical" part from the "political." The technicians accepted the form of a possible cooperation, but the delegates systematically refused to join in any agreements. The "policy of its own" for Argentina interfered with agreements to unity of the hemisphere on the issue of convoying ships to a certain point in the Atlantic, a task which the other nations were performing with great benefit to us.

The Argentine delegation did not accept to share in this convoy task, in spite of the categorical agreements it had contracted for continental defense. It only wanted arms and munitions for the exclusive and admitted purpose of maintaining equilibrium with neighboring nations. For the government, the war had not reached America, we had nothing to preserve and nothing to defend. We would stand guard with arms and munitions and that was all. It is superfluous to say in what way and in what spirit the military and naval delegation re-

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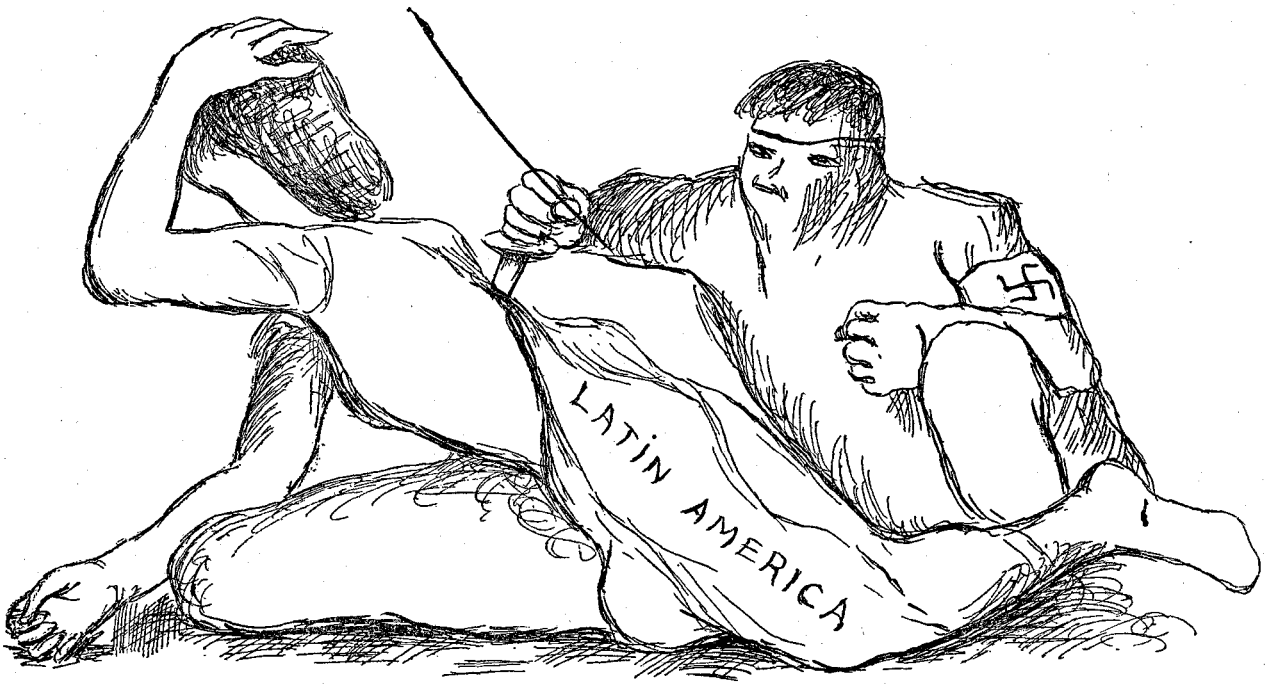

turned. They endured the sinking of ships of our fleet, but the Government was not disturbed and was satisfied with notes. Ships of American nations were sunk, and many lives sacrificed because of information the nazi spies sent from our country. In spite of the restrictions imposed by the state of siege, an intense Underground activity developed. Secret associations and groups attempted to aid the Allied nations. More important than their material effectiveness ——in some cases appreciable—was the demonstration of the attitude of our people and their solidarity with the nations in the fight.

Meeting of Ministers

MEN of all parties paid homage to the memory of Saenz Peña. His law assures a free vote. He said that the vote was the only way by which the Government could decide the destiny of the country, as it faced the fight of the United democracies against a nazism triumphant during the dark days for Europe.

The moment that Brazil declared war on the Axis, men of all sectors of opinion also signed a manifesto of loyalty to their cause which was the cause of America. To express its deep significance a meeting of the ministers was called. All but a few of those who directed the foreign affairs of the country were there. I remember how Julio Roca from his sick bed, wounded and dying, demanded their written adherence as it had come from his predecessors who had sealed the pact of friendship and indestructible solidarity with the United States.

With all this the atmosphere of the country was becoming more tense day by day. The feeling of the collapse of principles, of the estrangement from tradition and history grew in our spirits. The time was approaching when we should effect a change in the Presidency. With an impudence never before shown, Dr. Castillo gave the names of the candidates on the list who would take his place in the Government. He demanded that future governments should continue his international policy, and even corrected the plan of the program which contained ambiguities with his own hand.

The Convention hastened to accommodate him completely and even voted a declaration that President Castillo deserved well of the country for his conduct. In the face of this official agreement, a movement of overriding importance was created. All the democratic forces, in the presence of the

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collapse of their institutions through fraud and peculation and of nazi-fascist policies which ran counter to the national sentiment, set aside their old antagonisms, becoming reconciled in the face of the jeopardy to the supreme interests of the country.

Progressives Act

THE great progressive movement which would take the country out of an impossible situation crystallized promptly. Representatives of the Radical, Socialist, and Progressive Democratic parties assumed the direction and formulated their program at the beginning of May, 1943. Among the principles established in the program were the following: "A Union of Argentines to defend their democratic and republican policies of government, to secure their liberties and assure their well being; to sustain the principles of international justice which would lay the foundation of the nation's prestige before all the world. Preservation and extension of civil liberties of the people, religious freedom, security of livelihood and health, and generous treatment for foreign immigrants who come to the country without hatred of its institutions." And it concluded: "Active union with the peoples who are fighting the nazi-fascist aggression and economic assistance for them. Defense of America, of its integrity and its democratic institutions and territorial inviolability in free cooperation with all the countries of the continent. The suppression of all activity which might tend to destroy liberty or might be at the service of foreign aggression. Fulfillment of the obligations of the Rio de Janeiro Pact. An international policy founded on the recognition of the sovereign rights and political autonomy of peoples who were denied them by force, and collaboration with all nations to raise the standard of living of workers, for economic progress and social security. A peace which guarantees to all the peoples of the world the means of living securely within their own boundaries, and to all the peoples of the world a free life without fear of persecution and poverty."

I do not exaggerate if I say that the movement of Democratic union—for it was so named—had the support of the great majority of the citizens. Seventy or even eighty per cent of the voters, had they been free to express their sentiments would have succeeded in reestablishing the historic policy of the nation.

Full of anxiety and advised of the movement, on June 4th of last year the troops of the Camp de Mayo marched on Buenos Aires. President Castillo, who let loose the revolution by his conduct, sought refuge, accompanied by his Naval Minister, on the smallest ship of the fleet.

From his post of command as Commander-in-Chief he gave the order to fire, with his accustomed arrogance, but no one listened to him. He was brought to Buenos Aires as a prisoner of the Captain of the ship. The Triumphant Revolution proclaimed: "Union of the Argentines, punishment of the Guilty. We will preserve our institutions and our laws. We will fight to make effective a completely true and loyal union, American collaboration, and the fulfillment of international treaties and agreements."

We shall see if all this was done.

* * *

In its next issue FREE WORLD will publish a second and concluding article, in which the author reviews the deeds of General Ramirez, and of Colonel Farrel's administration, with an intimate knowledge of the behind-the-scenes events.

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Progress of the Struggle

by NORMAN ANGELL

DUMBARTON OAKS: IF THE POLICEMEN QUARREL?

ON the evening of October 9, which saw the publication of the tentative agreement arrived at by the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, a radio commentator—a quite eminent one—spoke mournfully to this effect: The outline, he said, has not one word to say about disarmament, and although, he went on, all our hopes are in the future for a peaceful world, all the great powers are behaving on the assumption that war is likely to come, since they are all engaged in maintaining armed preparedness.

This comment indicates one of those fundamental confusions which we must somehow manage to clear up if what Mr. Hull calls "the basis of discussion" just outlined at Dumbarton Oaks is to flower into effective machinery of peace.

It is, of course, a complete and very mischievous fallacy to assume that armed power is necessarily in conflict with peace; or that the fact of maintaining such power is proof of a general belief that war is destined to come in the future. Power may be built up for the specific purpose of ensuring that war will not come; for properly used, it is one of the instruments by which war may be prevented. The remark of the commentator would seem to imply that he looks upon war as a manifestation of nature like bad weather or an earthquake. But, bad weather is not made by men, while war is. Whether we get war or peace will depend on our political wisdom, something which will not make the slightest difference to the coming of the rain or the earthquake.

If we are to build usefully on the Dumbarton Oaks outline, we must shed some of the illusions and confusions which have obscured public understanding in the past, especially the illusions and confusions concerning the relation of power to peace.

It is quite true that if each nation believes that it can keep the peace by maintaining a preponderance of its own power over that of some other nation, the outcome will inevitably be war. For in that case, the maintenance of peace and security will depend upon each being stronger than the other. By such a method the security of one is purchased at the price of the insecurity of the other. But this is not the only way in which power can be used. It can be used as the means of defending a law or rule of life which affords security equally to both parties or all parties. If one nation says in effect to another: "Unless I am stronger than you I cannot be secure. I must ask you therefore to accept my domination, actual or latent"—in that case there can be no peace, for such a nation is asking some other to accept a position of inferiority of power which the would-be stronger himself refuses to accept. But if that nation says to a potential rival: "I do not ask you to accept my domination, but the domination of the law, or principle, or rule, of no aggression which I myself am prepared to accept, and I ask you to join your power with mine to make that rule as nearly universal as circumstances will permit"—in that case we are on the road to peace.

To put it more concretely, if a number of states agree that, in the event of any one of them being attacked, all others will come to the aid of the victim, aggression is unlikely to take place, because such an arrangement confronts the would-be aggressor with overwhelming power. When Lloyd George, after the first World War, was

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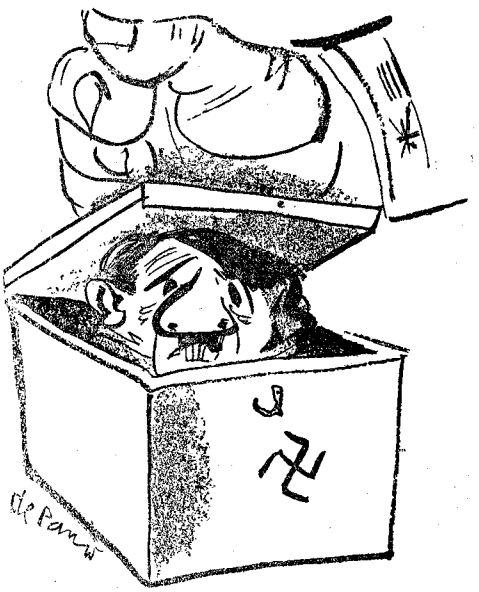
asked whether it could have been prevented, he replied in effect, "It could have been prevented if those nations which did finally take the field against aggression had made it plain to the aggressor beforehand that they would do so. If Germany had known that she would have to meet not merely France and Russia but Britain and the United States and all the other Allied and associated powers, she would not have challenged the world, and we should not have had war." The lesson is so obvious that it hardly needs laboring.

In other words, if power is the collective power of a community, designed to defend any member against aggression on the principle that an attack on one is an attack on all, then power may become an instrument of peace. If power is competitive, built up by each member of the community, directed at neighbors (who, of course, will protect themselves in the same way) then, in that case, power becomes an instrument of anarchy, the prelude to war.

A Big Power Aggressor?

THE question most frequently asked about the Dumbarton Oaks outline is this: "Suppose the Big Four or Big Five disagree among themselves?" or the question may be put in the form: "Suppose one of the great powers becomes the aggressor?" And for some time now discussion has been going on as to what constitutional provision, what plan of voting, could meet this contingency. It seems to be assumed that if action by the Council could be taken on a majority decision, the fact would constitute a safeguard; and that the fact that Russia insists upon unanimity in the Council before action can be taken against an aggressor, reduces the anti-aggression provisions to futility.

If one of the great powers had really decided upon an aggression or had decided to refuse to accept a decision of the majority, no constitutional provision could prevent it. The dissenting power would simply withdraw, and we should be confronted *with* the situation of a civil war. Civil war means usually a military challenge to the existing constitution. No provision for decision by majority could prevent the break-up of the Council if a recalcitrant



member decided to challenge the majority.

The United States has had one civil war in a hundred and seventy years and not a single case in which the government has been seized as the result of a military coup. During the nineteenth century there were Latin American republics in which a year rarely passed without civil war, and the seizure of government by a group of officers is not precisely unknown even now.

What has enabled the United States to avoid such experiences? It is not any constitutional provision, because republics to the south have had in one form or another precisely the same constitutional provisions which exist in this country. The real explanation of the freedom of this country from military coups is a widespread consciousness on the part of the public in the United States of the fact that peace and freedom depend upon the faithful observance of that fundamental contract upon which the Republic rests; the contract by which government is obligated to obey the commands of the electorate. If the votes go against President Roosevelt this coming month, every American knows that he will retire in favor of Dewey. What will make him retire? Armed force? But the President is the Commander-in-Chief of that armed force. It is sworn to obey his orders, and so far therefore as armed force is concerned, the President is in a position to remain in

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power whether the votes go against him or not. But he won't use that power for that purpose. He is not prevented by armed force from so doing (since he commands the armed force), he is prevented by the consciousness that such defiance of the contract upon which the Republic rests could not long endure; that his own party would not support him in such a step, that they would prefer to live under the government of a hostile party rather than have him resort to such means to maintain their party in power.

Public Accepts Verdict

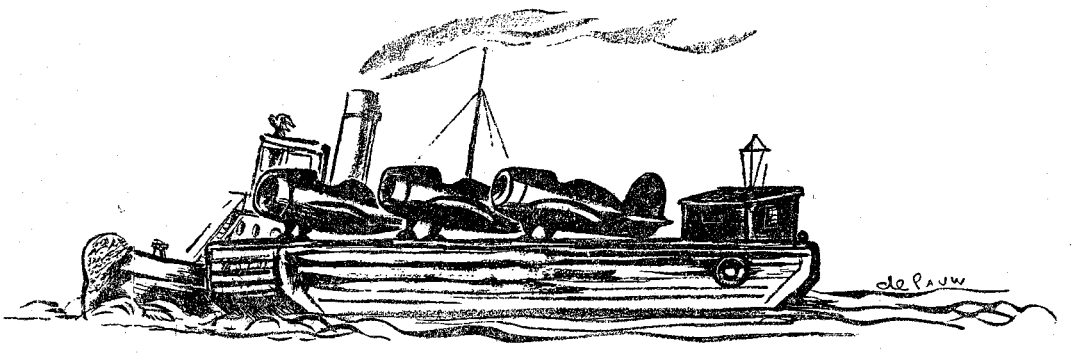
BUT for the universal acceptance by the American public as a whole of the vital and supreme importance of adhering to this primary principle, democracy could not work. Nor could it work unless something like half the population of the country were willing to live under a government against which they had voted and of which they did not approve. If each party declared that nothing would induce it to accept government under the opposing party, there could be no democracy at all. Democracy is only possible if nearly half the country (sometimes more than half) is willing to live under an administration against which it has voted and in whose principles and doctrines it does not believe.

Some of the implications of this analogy must be accepted by nations if the plan of Dumbarton Oaks is to give us peace. If no nation will accept a settlement which does not completely and in every respect correspond to all its wishes and ambitions, then there can be no peace. The spirit of compromise is not something which marks men without principle, weak men afraid to stand up for their rights. It is that virtue of give and take, willingness to cede something to the other fellow, without which there can be no democracy, no freedom, no peace.

And that applies, of course, equally to rival ideologies. It would be affectation (Churchill's word in the House of Commons), to pretend that Russia's behavior toward Poland has not created grave misgivings in the West. But that behavior is largely motivated by Russia's distrust of the West, by the fear that Poland may be made the spearhead of capitalist aggression upon the one great Socialist State of the world.

Our job in the West will be to try to persuade Russia that the West is not her enemy, and that differences of ideology need not involve armed conflict. We must somehow make clear to Russia that we of the West are honestly fighting this war to give to every country the right to live under the social or economic system which it prefers. We have managed to fight a war unitedly with Russia despite ideological differences; the Capitalist West has aided Russia to defend her right to remain a Communist State.

There is every reason to believe that Russia is learning, if she has not already learned, that the best security of that right for Russia to remain Communist is her full cooperation in the defense of the right of the Western nations to live under a social or economic system which may not be like hers. If, however, the underlying assumption is that the purpose of power is not to defend the right to the different, but to impose on all one doctrine of the other, then, of course, we are just entering upon a new phase of the wars of religion, and we shall get neither peace nor freedom.



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ON THE PATH OF LEND-LEASE

BOOM TOWN in IRAN

BY

O. ORESTOV

FROM IRAN comes this story by a Russian, graphically depicting the manner in which the lend-lease weapons and matériel turned out by American war plants reaches the Soviets.

AT the foot of the mountains of Iran there was formerly a little railroad station, lost in the midst of the hills, calm, without history, unheralded to tourists by any map of the region. In the space of a few months, a new city has been born, encircling the mountain. It is a very particular sort of town, for all its inhabitants take part in one way or another in the transport of war matériel to Russia The town is the infant of lend-lease.

Close to the station quarters for the railroad workers have been built. Surrounding the great sheds where trucks and autos are assembled from the parts, are the lodgings of the workmen and technicians, the houses of the drivers of the American and Soviet trucks, the hospital, the military barracks, a neighborhood where the Persian peasants live, an auto repair shop, and garages for tractors and agricultural machines. From every corner of the land, the human streams converge at this point. The Americans have dubbed the strange conglomeration "boom town."

From this new Persian city trains accompanied by Russian guards complete the hardest part of the railroad journey that links the Persian Gulf with Russia. At the end of the trip, the representatives of Moscow take over. The freight cars unloaded near the Caspian Sea leave again immediately for the South to pick up a new load.

The southern part of Iran is the only region where a large number of Americans and Russians are constantly together. In spite of the language barrier, a friendship has sprung up between these men. A young sergeant from Alabama salutes a Soviet fighter in Russian: "Zdravstvuitie, how do you do?"

And the Russian replies: "Tsank you, very vell!"

However bad their accents, their intentions are good. Their conversation from that point progresses with the aid of gestures.

The Americans have built a motion picture theater that is attended by a large number of Russian soldiers and officers. They can always count on enough good-natured interpreters round about them in the hall to be able to get at least a sketchy idea of the general line of the dramatic action. For their part, the Americans love to attend the concerts organized by the Russian command. The popular dances and the choral singing, executed by the Choir of the Red Army of the Caucasus, invariably meet with wild applause from the American audience.

The work goes on. A friendly rivalry

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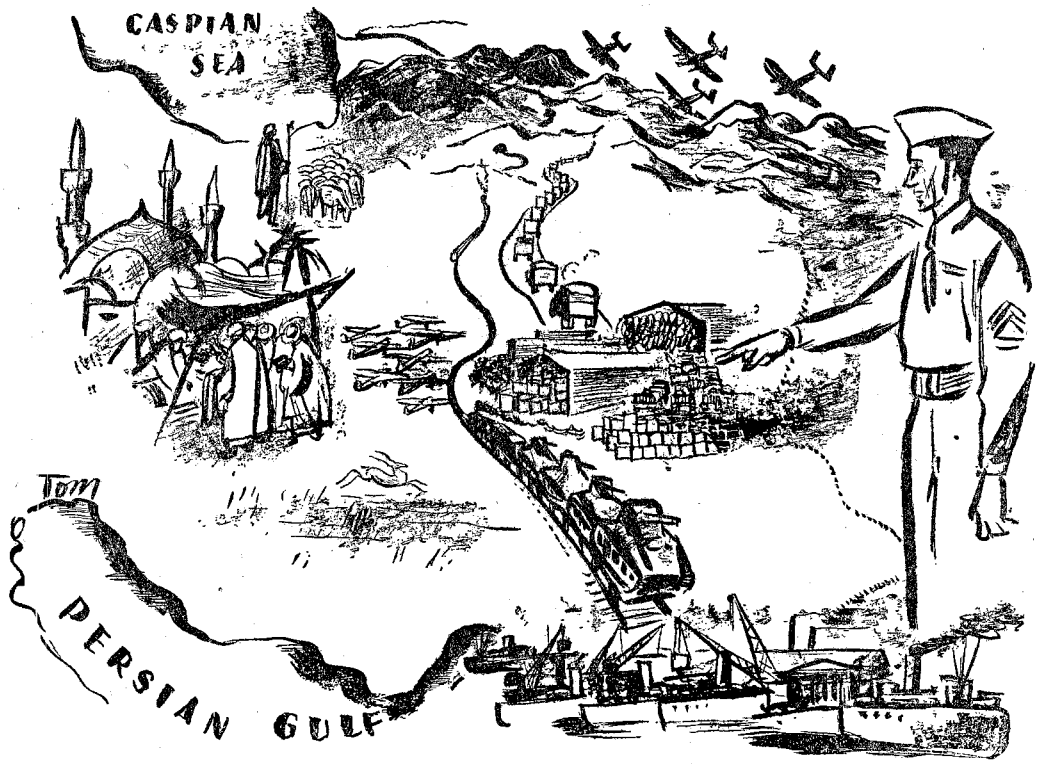

keeps both Americans and Russians driving ahead with all their might, and produces miracles. Fast, fast, still faster. Every port, every road, every truck is utilized to avoid a "bottleneck." The pulse of life beats in the accelerated rhythm of Boom Town. It is from the borders of the Persian Gulf that the rapid impulsions come, but the real source of life is in the United States. The distance is long from the shores of America to Iran. The steamers can follow three routes: around the Southern tip of Africa; through the Mediterranean; across the South Pacific and the Indian Ocean. This third route takes 90 days, the African route a little less and the Mediterranean passage 40 days. Thus the Allied victory in North Africa yielded huge savings in the transport of war matériel to Russia.

In the course of my journey along the Persian Gulf I stopped at a port where an American steamer had just docked. The young captain's mate gave me a friendly account of the crossing. "The Mediterranean was like a lamb," he said. "This is the first time our ship has come to Iran, and we're happy to be able to deliver you the goods."

He was only 18 years old, and was tremendously proud of his Liberty Ship built in 27 days.

Many ships of this class have come to Bandar Shahpur. Their gray hulls line the quays where the dock hands are working furiously. But the wharves are insufficient to reduce the congestion in the incessant traffic. Accordingly, some of the ships cast anchor in the middle of the harbor and unload their goods on barges that carry it into port.

These barges have their story, too. They were built in the little State of Kuwait on the Persian Gulf. Kuwait has become a veritable factory for turning out hundreds of these great barges used today for unloading and for river transport.

Lend-lease has made unrecognizable the little port of Horrem Shar, situated at the mouth of a river. The two banks of the stream are bordered by masses of date trees with tall trunks. One rarely hears the Persian language, for the population is almost entirely composed of Arabs.

This port has become even more vast than that of Bandar Shahpur. As far as one can see there is a forest of ships' funnels and the work of the port gives off a low

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rumbling sound that is heard day and night.

I went on board a ship to witness its unloading. Its hold was filled from top to bottom with boxes of different dimensions. The spaces around the big boxes were filled with packages of food, medical supplies and gifts of the Red Cross to Russia. The boxes were covered with inscriptions, giving detailed explanations regarding the contents: the nature of the material; how to unpack it, how to assemble it. Each ship that touched the quay bore a huge placard with a number. That number indicated how many times the ship had beaten all records in the number of days required for unloading. There have been times when the Americans supervising the unloading managed to reduce the time required to six days, whereas normally it takes two weeks to remove the merchandise from such a ship . . . in fact, two weeks is considered a good record.

On the other side of the river, at Basra, ancient port of Irak, where the work is under British supervision, I saw the same sort of intense effort. Cargoes that arrive there cross the territory of Irak toward the north on the Basra-Bagdad railroad, then take new highways that follow the course of the rivers.

One of the curiosities of Basra is a new bridge across the Shatt-el-Arab. Its construction involves a most unusual principle. To let boats pass, the bridge is lowered into the water.

The war has brought new activity to the ports of the Persian Gulf. From them thousands of trucks and freight cars in unending lines wind ceaselessly toward the north. So many hands are needed that the suburbs spread, new quarters are constantly being added to the towns.

One day I joined an American truck caravan that had several hundred miles to go, its destination being the Soviet border. At two o'clock in the morning we started out from Horrem Shar. As we left we could read on the gates of the enclosure the letters so often seen across the countryside: MTS. They indicate the numerous Motor Transport Stations.

The caravan had already been loaded when I arrived at the point of departure. It was composed of three groups, each of more than 40 trucks, mostly giant Diesel-trucks with trailers.

The column of trucks was on the road five or six days, making its way across the desert, the steppes, the slopes of the mountains. But the whole trip was over a magnificent highway recently constructed. In the desert region the roadway is raised in order to protect it from snowdrifts and floods. Everywhere there are new and strong bridges. In the mountains 2,400 workmen toiled to round out the sharpest curves, and to build roadways that are often 8,000 feet above the base of the slope. Cafeterias, gas and repair stations dot the length of the route.

All the same, the bulk of the war matériel travels by the Trans-Iranian Railroad, which it is difficult today to recognize if one ever had the occasion to make the trip before the war. The British have taken over the supervision of the southern and central sections, and have doubled the amount of rolling stock. As for the Americans, they have brought in four times as much rolling stock. When the work of expansion began, the locomotives and freight cars arrived without ceasing from the United States. The Diesel-locomotives were a great novelty in the desert and mountain regions. Now every day several trains packed with matériel move from the south northward. At any little station along the route one can meet up with two or three Americans directing the traffic, aided by Iranian personnel. A poster along the route says: "Deliver the goods faster to Uncle Jo!"

When the train has crossed the desert, it arrives at the foot of a mountain where part of the matériel is unloaded to continue the route by trucks. These are assembled on the spot from parts that are in the boxes the train carried. It is at this point that the celebrated Boom Town has risen. Farther north the railroad crosses bridges that hop from one dizzy precipice to another. What ingenuity it has required to master this wild nature! I counted 132 tunnels in one section of some 150 miles. Almost a tunnel per mile.

The route from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian has become a symbol of the friendship that links the United Nations.

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From Somewhere in Europe—

What I Am Fighting For

By
Lt. Byron B. Buckeridge

This message to all Americans comes from a young second lieutenant who has seen plenty of action, but has had time to think about the kind of United States he wants when he gets back home. Those who wonder what's on our fighting men's minds have their answer here.

I VOLUNTEERED in the United States Army because I knew it was better to die for democracy than to live in slavery. I still believe this. My only war aim is not merely to "get back home." This war has above all given me new courage to speak and act for what I understand democracy to be.

Army life has not given us much time to think about political, economic and social problems. But I venture to say that our new friendships, our multitude of new experiences, our travels in other countries, and the bombs and bullets which have killed our buddies and hit close to us have made each of us better, clearer thinking and more courageous men.

The high point of my army life was when I was a platoon leader in the infantry. We used to hold our platoon "town meetings" and discuss the problems of America and the world. Our discussions were as intelligent as any New York forum I ever attended. If we could have had prominent leaders speak to us as the British Army does, our forums would have been far better. I have gained tremendous confidence in democratic man, because of his common sense shown in these discussions, and his unselfish willingness to sacrifice his life for his buddies and for the cause he fights for. To anyone who says the statement of Henry Wallace, "This is the century of the common man," is idealistic—I say this is an obvious fact of this war, and nothing can stop it from coming true!

Soon the war is going to end and there will be hilarious celebration all over the earth. But before we break ranks and go home to civilian life I think it imperative that we have a talk about our problems in the postwar era. Some of our ideas are going to hurt many people as painfully as the bombs and bullets hurt soldiers in the front lines.

I do not ask you to agree with me. I am only one soldier expressing the ideas I fight for. You are free to express yours, and I urge you to do so. Here is my declaration on many problems which we face as candidly as I can state them.

An older friend of mine back in America thinks oppositely from me on almost all of the important problems of our time. He is a successful business man, and recently was elected president of a national business organization. This year he will tour the country speaking to business groups about his ideas. Here are a few of them: He hates Roosevelt and the New Deal; he wants the Government to quit interfering with private enterprise—he wants to let supply and demand take care

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of the economic system; he hates labor unions and calls them communistic; he hates professors or idealists like Henry Wallace; he hates radical young people and Negroes; and his chief aim in life is to make money.

My older friend was a soldier in World War I. Today he is advising business men all over America on what needs to be done in Post-World War II.

I personally think that his ideas had their chance after the last war, and I regard the result as the greatest tragedy of civilization—meaning of course the great depression followed by World War II.

Now I believe it is our turn to assume leadership, but the fact remains that my older friend has the voice, the organization and the influence to get his ideas accepted by many.

Age of Abundance

I AM aware that the United States is better off than the rest of the world with our modern machines and mass-production methods. I am aware that we have more bathtubs and automobiles and gadgets than other peoples, but. . . .

I also am aware that the United States faces a huge unemployment problem on Demobilization Day; that few families in America actually have incomes which allow them to live at a comfortable machine-age living standard; that few families own the vast savings in the banks; that insecurity is still one of our big problems; that monopolies have grown richer and more powerful while soldiers have given their lives in this war; that life in the United States is basically a continuous struggle from the cradle to the grave to make money; and that relatively few people have the opportunity to do other than dream about a full, useful and cultural life.

I am aware that Eric Johnston has risen in the grand American style from a poor newsboy to become president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. I am also aware that millions of other Erics and Jims and Joes have not been able to rise in this grand American style although they are just as capable.

Walter Lippmann says that the United States economy began the war the size of a dog and will end it the size of a horse. I believe this war proves beyond a doubt that an economy of material abundance is here. I thus believe that every worker in the United States in the new era of peace should receive a wage which will enable his family to live comfortably, perhaps a minimum of $2,500 a year.

When war ends the Government will own 15 billion dollars worth of war plants. I believe that many of these plants should become government owned and operated, converted to peace-goods production, and used to employ demobilized soldiers and war workers.

I believe specifically that the aviation industry should be government owned and operated, and internationally supervised by the new League of Nations in order to help prevent future wars and to give the common man full benefit of the new air age.

I believe specifically that the Government should own and operate plants in every field of industry now dominated by private monopolies—such as aluminum and steel. I propose that the Government set up yardsticks similar to TVA in these industries to keep a close check on private monopolies and cartels.

I have not fought this war against fascism in order to defend Wall Street, corporation owners, rich property owners, war profiteers, snipers who would destroy TVA, monopoly and cartel manipulators, and business men who cry for Government to keep its hands off—that is, until they have muddled and exploited the economy into another depression when they will come crying again for Government help.

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My older friend back home is going to make it awfully tough for me when I express these ideas on my return to America. But I intend to express them and act upon them.

That is what I personally think—think what you will—just do not brand me as a Communist or some other absurd name. And do not tell me to go live in Moscow. I intend to live and act upon my ideas in my home town in Texas, where reactionaries and eighteenth-century thinkers are more plentiful than prairie dogs.

A New World Outlook

THE basic problem of our time is the great lag between social, economic and political institutions and the great advance in science and mechanical inventions.

I believe there are several new institutions either now being considered or already in existence which will help take up this lag in world affairs:

1. United Nations Organization, or a new League of Nations.
2. World Bank and fiscal policy suggested by J. M. Keynes.
3. UNRRA, or United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.
4. World Trade Board.
5. ILO, or International Labor Organization.
6. World Court, and international law.
7. International Air Agency to supervise the aviation industries and airfields.
8. "TVA's on the Danube," or financial aid to backward areas to develop their own Tennessee Valley Authorities.

I do not believe that another world war for our children can be prevented unless we work to establish organizations similar to these. I believe that these are essential steps in raising living standards everywhere.

Educational Outlook

I think that the Army aptitude tests prove that mass education in America has done a poor job, although we have long boasted of the best schools in the world. Probably education is the basic need of the people in the new era of peace.

The G.I. Bill of Rights attempts to work out the educational problems for soldiers who had their schooling cut short by the war. I believe this educational program should be extended to the whole population. I believe that everyone who, as an individual, is qualified should have the opportunity to go through the college level and into graduate work.

To defeat Germany and Japan the Army estimated the required number of platoon leaders. This method should be applied to peacetime problems. How many doctors,

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dentists, teachers are needed to raise the health standards and to stock our schools with instructors? How many scientists are among the demobilized soldiers and workers who are qualified to do research work in great government laboratories on the vast unknowns in the universe? I know that Rockefeller Institute, Du Pont, RCA, Eastman and others have their research laboratories, but I want to see the maximum opportunity open to qualified scientists so that maximum human effort can be applied to scientific investigation.

I realize that maximum mass education is not the whole problem. There is also the question of quality or what should constitute a liberal education. The University of Chicago, Cornell, and the New School for Social Research in New York are examples of institutions where unprecedented educational courses are being worked out.

A Changing Labor Outlook

I HAVE taken the strike news back home with a grain of salt. In my opinion the American workers have three jobs to handle for the soldiers. First, to produce war materials. Second, to protect the Wagner Law, collective bargaining; enlarge labor unions, improve wages, hours and working conditions. Third, to use their political influence in electing leaders who are not bought off by the fat corporations.

I personally want to return to an America where workers have a voice and a vote in industry through their unions.

My older friend back home is concerned about labor becoming too powerful and taking over industry and Government. I am more concerned about fat war monopolies buying off the Government. There has not been equal sacrifice in lives and property in this war. Indeed profits are higher than ever before in United States history, and the owners of America have defeated all taxation plans based on "ability to pay." These owners are now trying to grab the 15 billion dollars worth of Government war factories under the cry of "free enterprise." So you can see why I fear the power of a few monopolies more than I fear the voice and vote of millions of workers.

The labor movement in the United States dovetails into the International Labor Organization and through this institution greater effort must be made in peace to raise wage levels, improve hours and working conditions, and promote educational programs among workers everywhere.

Briefly on Agriculture

I KNEW very little about agricultural problems in the United States. My older friend doesn't know much about the farmer's problem either. He does say that the Government should take its hands out of the farmer's business and let supply and demand take care of agriculture.

Even with my little knowledge I know that this is no answer, only an evasion of the problem.

Basically, I think the Government should undertake an all-out program to save America's top soil. My older friend wants Nature to handle this but Nature is washing the soil into the rivers and oceans. I think there must be an annual crop plan so that the American people can have maximum health diets, and so the United States can help other peoples through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. I think the Government will have to set prices for the farm products and compensate the farmers who through no fault of their own fail to make a comfortable machine-age income. I think the soldiers and workers who want to settle down on a farm when war ends should be given the opportunity to do so by the Government, through land gifts and no-interest loans to build homes, buy machines, and start the crops. I think the Government should build up huge reserves in agricultural products, and provide against crop failures and famines in other countries. I think agricultural schools should be open to all who want to attend them. I think the rural electrification program should be expanded to every corner of rural America, I think more TVA's should be built along America's rivers, to prevent floods, to develop cheap power, to create fertile valleys, and to conserve the soil. I think the Government should promote agricultural research on a vast scale. I think the farm cooperative program should be given every

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help and encouragement by the Government. I believe the farmer should receive at least the same for his work as a laborer in industry—in other words, the farmer should have full benefit of the machine-age economy of abundance.

This may sound amateurish to a farmer-reader. But you know how I stand on other postwar ideas, so you understand that I am anxious to find out about agriculture's problems, to discuss and act upon them as among the most important in the future of our democracy.

U. S. Housing Outlook

THE elimination of slum conditions in America must have first priority when peace comes, and only Government planning can do the job of rebuilding vast blocks of American cities. There will be plenty of manpower and materials to do the job, and this war has proven that a combination of man's work and machines has supplanted the old conception that the money consideration is of prime importance.

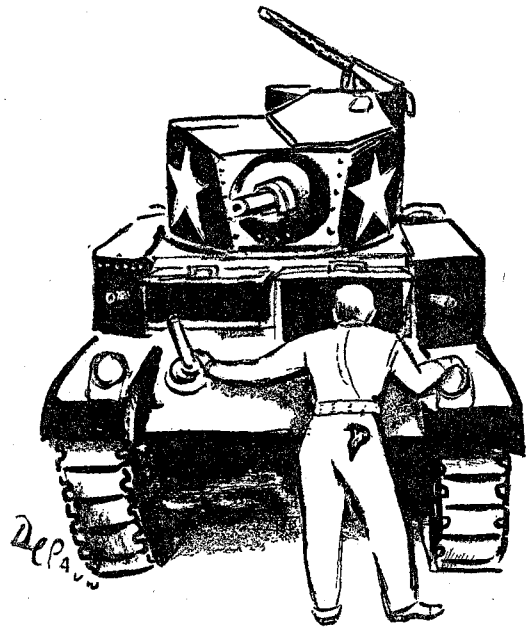
Congress should authorize adequate funds to continue the slum-clearance program begun under the U. S. Housing Act of 1937, in order to wipe these slum conditions from our landscape.

New homes by the millions are also needed for soldiers and workers' families. The FHA should continue its work, and continually lower the interest rate and broaden its scope to include all citizens who want their own home.

With the construction of homes, and the reconstruction of slum areas, other problems, as those of health, crime, family problems, population trends, etc., will be nearer solution.

This appears to be a simple problem and its solution offers an urgently needed means of opening up jobs in peacetime, but before the war, local real estate owners and local ancient laws stood in the way of actually getting poor housing cleaned up. I think we can overcome these obstacles, if they interfere in the new era of peace.

I come from Texas and I do not hate Negroes. I oppose Jim Crow laws. I oppose the poll tax. I do not think Negroes should be sent back to Africa. I do not think



Negroes are one degree different from a white man, except that in Texas everything it seems, has been done to keep the Negro in the status of a slave.

My older friend thinks the Negro is going to "rise up" after this war. I wish I were a Negro and could "rise up" with them. I have worked with Negroes on constitution jobs; I have debated with them at college; I have gone through Officers' Candidate School with them; I have fought with them in this war. I like them and look upon them no differently than I look upon other Americans, or Chinese, or French, or Russians or British or Mexicans.

I favor an all-out program of education for the Negroes; I favor a vast program to clean up their slum districts and build them modern homes; I favor the abolition of all Jim Crow restrictions; I favor extending the democratic privilege of voting to the Negro; I favor treating the Negro the same as the white man in the demobilization program and reemployment program; I favor equality for Negroes in America in social, political and economic life. Many of them are fighting for the same kind of democracy I am fighting for. Both of us have a big job ahead.

There are many problems, domestic and international, which lie underneath all the sacrifice and death and destruction of World War II. First, a realization that

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civilization is a failure at this point in history. Second, that unprecedented ideas and institutions must arise to tackle the problems in the new era of peace. Third, "this is the century of the common man" and not the status quo century of big owners, privileges for the few, bought off governments, exploitation of the masses. Fourth, a new League of Nations must seriously aim at raising living, health and educational standards everywhere on earth. Fifth, in this machine age an economy of abundance is possible everywhere, and big business must not be allowed to operate on a scarcity basis, putting profits before human need and employment. Sixth, every help must be given the German and Japanese people to solve their domestic problems and they must be welcomed into the new League as soon as revolution within has brought forth their new leaders. Seventh, the emphasis on world armies to prevent further Hitlers and Tojos must be secondary to the above aims of seriously attempting to solve the problems which enable such leaders to arise. Eighth, a recognition that the economic problems of this age are solvable, and that much greater problems lie ahead in enabling all men to live full, useful, happier lives on earth, and in scientific research where man has only begun to scratch the surface of the vast unknowns in the universe beyond.

United Nations Soldiers

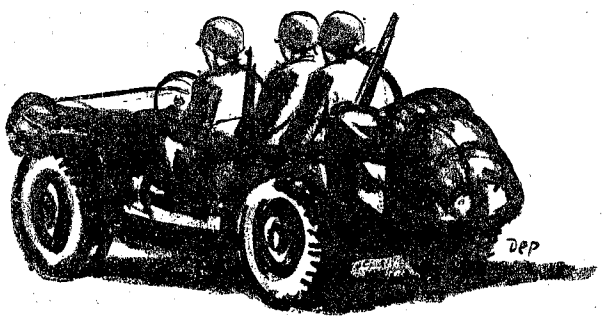
OUR most urgent action when armistice is declared is to put soldier-leaders in positions where they can speak and act in behalf of our postwar aims.

I don't think anyone will disagree that we need *our own* leaders, because few of us have voted for the political leaders now holding office, and few of us will have any influence over the policies of organized business groups. Furthermore, I doubt if a leader who has not actually been under enemy fire knows the full meaning of this war for the common man in the United Nations.

Above all we must not let things "drift" or feel "disillusioned" over the enormous problems before us. If we put our minds to it, a democratic soldiers' organization can be set up, our peace aims can be stated, our opinions can be broadcast among the United Nations, our leaders can speak and act for us, and we can take an active part at the peace table.

The American Way of Life

I LOVE America, and I have been fighting in order to be able to go home and begin building the kind of land I was only able to dream about before Hitler challenged Western civilization. I wanted to challenge most of it, too, not as Hitler has done, but with new ideas and institutions in place of the old ones. I am glad this war came, because I do not think my generation would have had the courage to speak and act for a better world if the bombs and destruction and clear indication of civilization's failure at this date had not awakened us. I am lucky to be alive. So are millions of soldiers everywhere. Many of our friends were unlucky. They were killed by the Nazis and Japanese. I want peace now, and I want to live a useful, full and happy life. I want to help create a new world in which the common man's capacity for cooperation, mutual help, unselfish service and energy discovered during this war will be applied to the domestic and world problems. I cannot go back to life where money making is the one basic aim from the cradle to the grave. I intend to work for an economy where machines will produce for the needs of the people. I intend to fight the rest of my life in a democratic way for what I believe democracy to be, and I hope many others of this generation are ready to join me.



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How I Conceive

THE CONGRESSWOMAN'S ROLE

During The Next 2 Years

By
HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS

★

The next few years this author sees as crucial to the future of the United States. And she has her own idea of how active a role Congress should be expected to play in relation to the leadership of the President.

★

THE job that faces Congress in the next two years is not an easy one; it will require a tremendous degree of sincere and non-partisan effort. But it is a job which offers the reward of a country which has won the war and has laid the foundation for one of the most fruitful and democratic periods of its history, and of the history of the world.

The next few years offer two possibilities. Either this country—and with it all the progressive countries of the world—will take a great step forward toward the ultimate goal of a full and secure life for its people; or else we will slip with tragic haste into an economic chaos and international anarchy such as the world has never known. The choice between these two alternatives—on the one hand full production and employment and complete international cooperation, and on the other unemployment and want and the certainty of future wars more devastating than we can today imagine—is in actuality one which will be made by the voters of America this November. With a progressive President and a Congress which will support him, help him, and even guide him, the possibilities of the future are almost unlimited.

I believe sincerely that Roosevelt's re-election is a foregone conclusion. And I hope that he will have behind him a Congress capable and desirous of doing the job that America wants—and needs—to have done.

This job, as I see it, has two important aspects. The first, of course, is the winning of the war. The Commander-in-Chief and our armed forces must have the full support of Congress in carrying out whatever measures may be necessary to bring about as prompt and complete a victory as possible. Congress must be made up of men and women whose aim is the successful prosecution of the war; there must be no reconverted isolationists, repossessed Anglophobes, nor camouflaged enemies of the Soviet Union in our next Congress to snipe at our Allies, quail at the idea of unconditional surrender, or in any way impede the victory for which our men are fighting.

This is the first part of the work that must be done by Congress in the next two years. The second part is equally important. This is the securing and safeguarding of the peace, the translation of military victory into terms of a fuller life for the people of our country, into terms of jobs, and security, and lasting peace.

This task has two sections, the national and the international, but they are indivisible. The goal of economic progress in this country cannot be separated from full eco-

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nomic cooperation with the other countries of the world. To continue the tremendous expansion of production which has taken place during the war, we require the promise of a stable and enduring peace. This peace must be assured by the establishment of an international organization powerful enough to prevent future war and aggression. Congress can make or break such an organization. It can support and implement the President's realistic plan of Big Four collaboration and world-wide unity or it can hamper and destroy it with mystic wails of "national sovereignty" and hypocritical double-talk about "the protection of small nations."

World Markets After War

FULL-SCALE production by this country presupposes consumption not only by ourselves but also by the other democratic countries of the world, most of which have suffered great damage to their productive facilities during the war. Congress must work toward the fullest possible international consumption of our products by supporting and sponsoring plans for currency stabilization, lower tariffs, and the extension of long-term credits, in order that our economy may continue to operate at full capacity, and that a world market for our peacetime production may replace the war market for military products.

This type of international cooperation must not be endangered by a Congress with suppressed isolationist desires. Such cooperation is the basic necessity of our time; it is absolutely essential to our national security, and it should be supported without reservation and without equivocation. The national aspect of the work of Congress in the next years consists in providing a home market for the commodities we produce, and in permitting all of our productive ability, whether lodged in people or factories, to function to the fullest extent. To this end the reconversion of our factories to peace-time production must be carefully planned. Returning soldiers must receive the best possible training to fit them for different, or better, jobs than those they held before the war. There must be legislation to prevent discrimination against workers on racial or religious grounds. A sound taxation program must be worked out, based on the ability to pay, with provisions to encourage investment and full production at a fair profit and with well paid labor, "incentive" taxes to permit surpluses to be used in expansion and to permit allowances for losses in the earlier years.

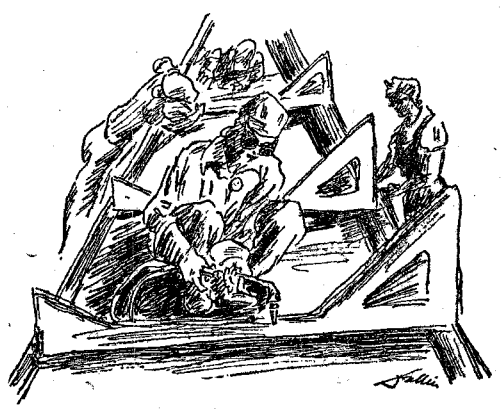
The fight against inflation must go on until there is no longer any possible danger. If necessary, subsidies and price control of necessities must be kept. Priorities may have to be continued as well, to prevent monopolistic control of such basic raw materials as lumber, steel, aluminum and copper.

But most important is the task of maintaining and raising America's standard of living. In the past this has been considered the responsibility of the special groups involved, of labor to seek higher wages, of farmers to try to attain higher prices for their produce. Today this question assumes a far broader aspect, it becomes the responsibility of the entire nation. Because it is to the interest of the entire nation that labor receive the highest possible wages, that agricultural products command good prices, that white collar and professional workers be well paid.

Economic Bill of Rights

THE President in his message to Congress last January set forth what he called the Economic Bill of Rights. This called for:

"The right to a useful and remunerative



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job in the industries, or shops or farms or mines of the nation;

"The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

"The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

"The right of every business man, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

"The right of every family to a decent home;

"The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

"The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident, unemployment;

"The right to a good education."

There is nothing very new about these proposals. Who has not wished that every person in America might have a useful job, an adequate remuneration for his work, adequate medical care and a decent home? Today these are not merely things to wish for, today these are musts. Today these are things that become the direct responsibility of our country as a whole. Because without them, without the broadened purchasing power that they represent, there is no way for our economy to continue to function at full capacity. In order for goods to be produced, they must find a market. In order for goods to sell, people must have money to buy them. In order for people to have money, they must have jobs which pay adequate wages. It is as simple as that. And it is desperately important for our country that the things we produce be bought and used, rather than allowed to pile up in warehouses until they form a blanket which can smother our entire economy.

These are the jobs that Congress must tackle in the next few years. The job of winning the war, and the job of insuring the production of which our country is capable, the tremendous production which will mean the highest standard of living we have ever achieved.

These are the jobs of the next Congress. They are important jobs. But the way Congress does them is important too. Too often in the past Congress has been an impediment to progress, a stumbling block, a monkeywrench thrower. The time has come for Congress to step out firmly. Not to drag the President back, but to move up beside him. Not to tie his hands, but to do a lot of his spadework. To plan, with the advice of experts. To stay out in the forefront, instead of lagging in the rear. To take the oars and begin to row, instead of dragging one hand in the water.

Congress has a lot of work to do in the next two years. It has also the privilege of playing a great and progressive role in one of the most crucial moments of our history—of helping to bring forth in this country a period of security, of well-being and of plenty for all.

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GERMAN CARTEL-KINGS

II: Krupp, International Plotter

BY
ALBERT NORDEN

In the October issue Norden revealed the machinations of the German industrialist clique that helped put Hitler in power. Here he tells the story of the man who contrived with Hitler to turn all Germany into an arsenal.

SOME worth-while pointers for the conduct of the conquering Allied forces in the next few months can be taken from the case of the world famous munitions chief Krupp. The Krupp plant in Essen, the Krupp-controlled Gruson Works in Magdeburg and the Germania Works in Kiel together make up the greatest armament corporation in the world, employing 160,000 men.

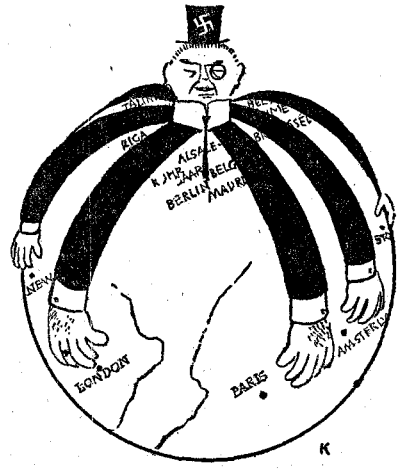
After the first World War it suffered a temporary period of demilitarization under the supervision of the Inter-Allied Control Commission. In fact, Krupp, in the years following the German defeat, manufactured only such harmless items as artificial teeth, later adding-machines and the like. In the meantime the favorite of Kaiser Wilhelm and later admirer of Hitler had organized in the Hague the "Hollandsche Industrie en Handel Maatschappij," better known under the name of Siderius A G. This became at first the receiving center for enormous amounts of guns and munitions which had evaded the Control Commission by being run into Holland. Second it became cover organization for a number of Dutch firms working for Krupp. In one of these firms, Piet Smit, Jr., the offices of the Germania-Werft were set up for the construction of warships. Thus Krupp was able simply to transplant a portion of his armament production into neutral countries.

Krupp reached not only westward, but into the southwest and north of Europe, organizing everywhere the manufacture of war materials precluded by conditions of the Versailles Treaty from being produced inside Germany.

Ten years ago, in a little volume published for a narrow circle of Ruhr chiefs, and called *Yearbook for the Ruhr Coal Area,* there appeared the following statement, to which we will later refer:

> The Krupp firm has formed close connections particularly in regard to technical exchange, with the "Maquinista Terrestre Y Maritima" in Spain as well as (via Germania-Werft) with a group of Spanish firms which have joined together in Madrid to form the "Union Naval de Levante."

In the same early postwar years in which Krupp was acquiring his Dutch firms and getting a foothold in Spain, he began his



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conquest of the Swedish Bofors armament plant. Later when the Swedish Parliament decided that Swedish munition plants should not be owned by foreign interests, the gentleman from "Villa Huegel" in Essen simply substituted his henchmen who deposited with him their Bofors stocks as security against ostensible debts.

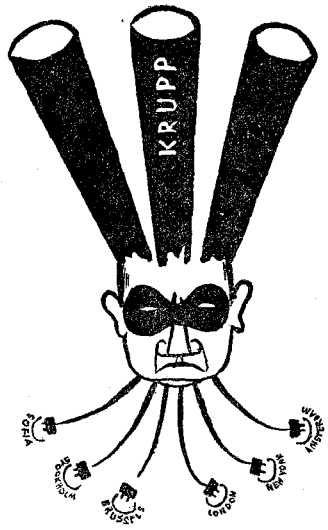
This was not merely the usual expansion and foreign investment of capital in the monopoly phase, nor a spreading of German re-armament outside the borders prior to the period when Hitler arrived in power with the help of the cannon kings, tore up the Versailles Treaty and turned Germany into one single arsenal. These financial operations were the first steps toward actually transforming these particular countries into agents of the German Reaction. The directors appointed by Krupp in foreign factories under his control were more than administrators, production managers or salesmen. They were the brain, heart and hands of Reaction in their own lands, and political agents of Krupp himself, which is to say, of German imperialism. After Hitler's seizure of power these men transformed themselves into leaders of local fifth columns.

A Forged Treaty

IN the twenties public excitement ran to high pitch over the revelation of a secret treaty between France and Belgium directed against Holland. After a few weeks this document was revealed for what it was worth—a vicious forgery—with the intention of driving the "threatened" Holland into the protective arms of German imperialism. Since the turn of the century this annexation of Holland had been a captivating idea. The excellent harbor at Rotterdam and the control of the lower Rhine could be the window and door so to speak, of the houses of West-German heavy industry.

The perpetrator of this forgery which so delighted the Pan-Germanists was a certain Mynheer van Beumingen, none other than the chairman of the board of the above mentioned Krupp-owned Siderius A G!

Later the same Beumingen became one of the most important financial supporters of the Dutch Fascists. Using the old all-



German device so well utilized by Hitler, he tried to split up Belgian domestic politics by inciting the Flemish-speaking factions against the Walloons.

Since 1940 Beumingen has earned the fruits of his labors as agent of Krupp and Hitler. He and other members of his family control today in conjunction with Fentener van Vlissingen the outstanding docking facilities and import and export companies of Rotterdam.

From Madrid to Stockholm

WE mentioned above the "Union Naval de Levante" in Madrid, the "close-connection" with which the Krupp management admits. The president of this concern is Juan March, treasurer of the Spanish reactionary movement. He was the one who arranged that Krupp receive a series of the most productive mines in the Basque country after Franco's victory.

A particularly drastic example of the Krupp combination of economic conquest and political disintegration is portrayed in the Swedish Bofors case. In passing we need not forget Mr. S. Wingquist, who not only is chairman of the board of Bofors but fills the same position in SKF, the international ball bearing trust with central offices in Sweden. This man, as Krupp's agent in Bofors and as director of SKF, has helped counteract the effects of the attacks of American fliers on the German ball bearing works, by continuing Swedish deliveries to the Third Reich.

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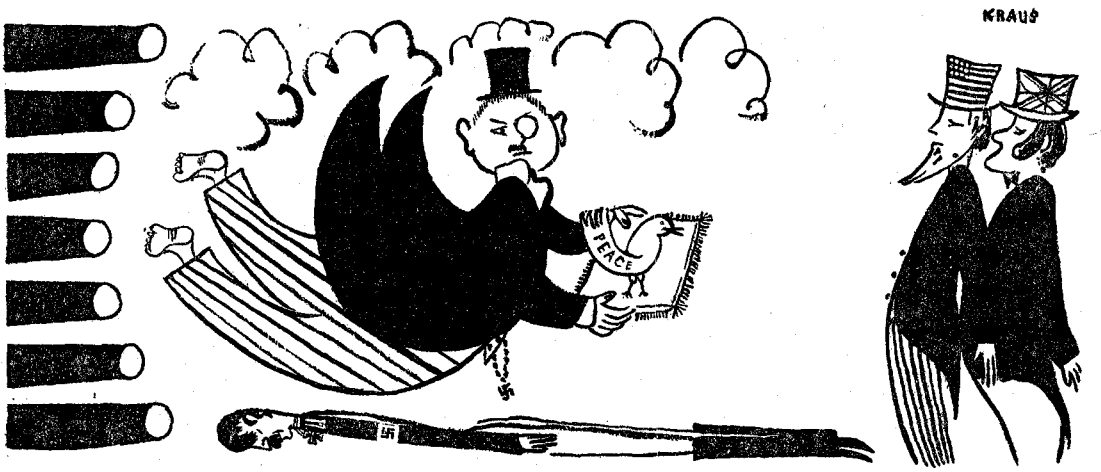

The real key figure at Bofors and international agent of Krupp, Hitler and Goering, is Axel Leonard Wenner-Gren. Even a larger amount of Bofors stock is held in his name than in the name of Wingquist. In 1936—three years after Hitler's accession to power, Wenner-Gren undertook his first assignment for German fascism, the full significance of which was first revealed by the events of the second World War. This episode was until now an unknown chapter in the drama which ended with the transformation of Finland into a German vassal state. It began with a visit of Wenner-Gren to Marshal Mannerheim at the end of 1935. Several months after this interview the Finnish War Ministry, while rejecting the offers of the French and English firms, placed large orders for heavy and light field artillery with Bofors. A major coup followed; the same year, 1936, Bofors won control with the approval of the responsible military authorities in Helsinki, over an important portion of Finland's war industry. The following Finnish munition plants: Jakobstads Mekaniska Verkstads AB, the Bjoerneborgs Mekaniska Verkstads AB, the Vaertsilae AB, and the Tammerfors Linne-och Jaermanefaktur AB, formed a holding company with Bofors in which the Swedish concern took over 51 per cent of the stock. This holding company thereby held a monopoly on all orders of the Finnish Army.

The domination of the Finnish war machine by an off-shoot concern of Krupp's has been unfortunately ignored in recent exposés of Finnish foreign policies. With his established position in Finland the Bofors stockholder Wenner-Gren was the appropriate go-between for Hitler-Goering and Mannerheim. In early 1940 the German High Command feared that Mannerheim might continue the Finnish war with Russia until Finland was completely occupied, thereby losing for Germany a mobilization area and springboard for a later German campaign against Leningrad and north Russia. In a telegram Goering asked Wenner-Gren to intervene with the Finnish régime and press the latter into an immediate request for an armistice.

The Traveling Salesman

THIS was not the first time that Wenner-Gren mixed into international politics at Goering's behest. The Krupp financed adventurer himself admitted that at the Nazi party convention on September 11, 1936 he had had a rendezvous with Goering in the vicinity of Nuremberg. During the Sudeten crisis in the summer and autumn of 1938 Wenner-Gren was active as "commis voyageur" between the nazi leaders and Neville Chamberlain. He prides himself even today on the letters and telegrams of congratulation he received at the time from Goering.

We have traced only a fraction of the international connivings of Krupp. The question can justly be raised: Will we tomorrow again content ourselves with the mere demilitarizing of these lords of war? Is it sufficient that Krupp merely surrender his pirated enterprises in Austria, Yugo-

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slavia, Holland, Belgium, etc.? That he give up connections with Goering which rested upon bribes to him and his family for contracts received? That he withdraw his puppet directors who today sit in key state positions for allocation of contracts? That he descend from the presidency of the "Adolf Hitler Fund for German Industry," from which the Fuehrer yearly draws some fifty million marks?

The Real Bosses

WILL we set loose the bosses of the steel trust who, hand and glove with the Nazi party, instigated the Putsch of July 25, 1934 and permitted the murder of Chancellor Dollfus in order to lay hold of Austria? Shall the bosses of the chemical trust further be allowed to spew their political gases throughout Germany and the rest of the world, in preparation for a new mass slaughter? Will these Schmitzs, Schroeders, Roechlings, Mannesmanns and their consorts, thanks to their international ties, emerge from this war the conquerors of tomorrow? In short: Shall we lop off just a few of the outgrowths and not grasp the evil by its roots?

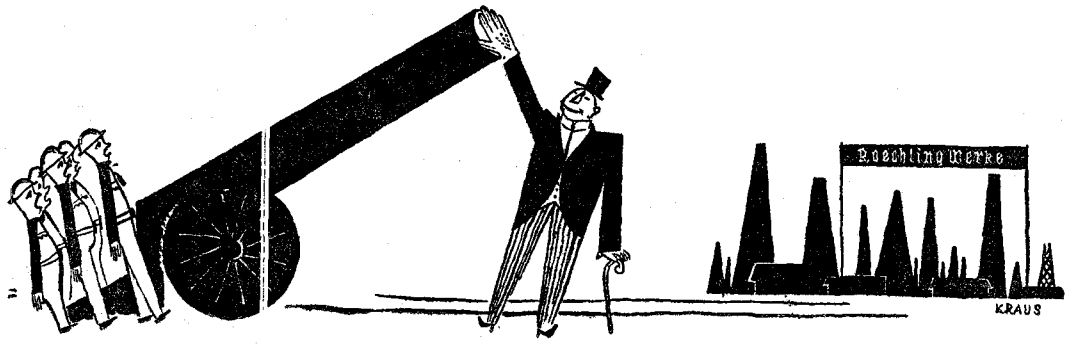
History shows that the Berlin, Frankfort and Essen partners of the international cartels placed Hitler in power and opened way across the German borders for the nazi tanks. It is absurd to believe that after the military defeat a repetition of these processes can be prevented by simply a change of personnel and replacement by others of the present-day chiefs of German banks, industries and chemical concerns. But why is this so?

German crude iron production, still insignificant in the middle of the last century, was by far greater than that of England and France combined on the eve of the first World War. The Lords of this expanding industrial world were at the same time owners of the extensive coal deposits of the Reich. They made their entrance on the stage of latter day events in a moment when the colonies and the various world markets were already largely portioned out. Their production machinery, modernized twenty years ago, transcended the consumptive capacity of Germany and on the other hand became dependent on foreign imports of raw material.

To gain political control of both sources of raw materials and market outlet areas so they might dictate conditions of payment, they aspired to displacing the other great powers from their trade positions. Since they never subscribed to the principles of peaceful international trade, which they have accepted only *faute de mieux* (mieux-c'est la guerre), they therefore have become the advance guard of a beastlike unbridled chauvinism.

What to Do with German Industry

IT is my conviction that even in a Germany whose borders after this war will no doubt be more tightly drawn than before 1938, the German production machinery set in operation for peaceful purposes and planfully directed can become an instrument for raising the standard of living of the German people and the peoples of Europe. However, as long as the immense war potential which is German heavy industry remains in the hands of individual owners—just so long will it be misused for shady domestic and foreign political conspiracies. Permit them control of their monopoly and the "Kampf" will be renewed against the coming democratic Republic. Adventurers will be



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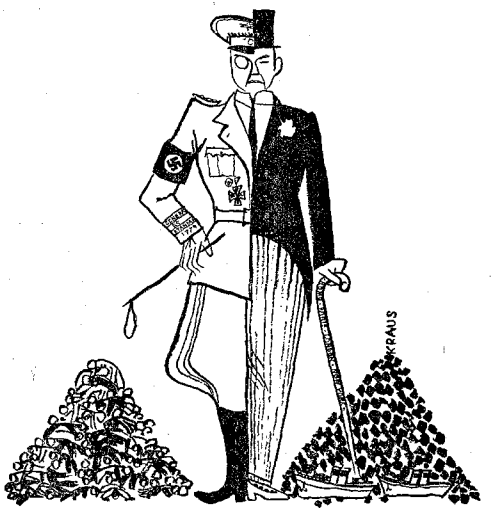
financed and turned loose on the people, as they were in 1919 with private militia and later with Hitler's "terror formations." The press will again be bought up and turned into an instrument of internal reaction and foreign hate-mongering among nations. In neutral countries, in Holland, Spain, Switzerland, etc., bridgeheads will be set up for their finance-capital offensive. Conspirators will be spawned on every continent.

And they have the power to do it. We must not forget that the owners of the three German coal regions (Ruhr, Silesia and Saar) are likewise chiefs of the iron and steel industry and control the machine-tool and shipbuilding fields. These monopolists, together with I. G. Farben, control the manufacture of German explosives and to a large part also German agriculture through production of farm machinery, while fertilizer is delivered by the nitrogen syndicate whose stock is largely held by the dye trust.

A fine inter-dependence exists between German heavy industry and the directors of the Deutsche Bank and Dresden Bank, the two largest private banks of the Reich, which have in one way or another taken over all financial institutions of the Continent occupied by Hitler. These bankers sit on the councils of the industrial trusts, while in turn the industrialists have their places on the boards of these two controlling banks. This, in spite of the much-publicized nazi dogma according to which the "creative" capital that is productive industry and the "raffende" capital or exploitative banking business get along like fire and water. We see both species at the helm of the electric trust of Siemens and AEG and of the largest German oil company, "Deutsche Erdoel AG." And, too, the controlling board of the German railways is no less a domain of the industrialists and bankers.

We must make it forever impossible that this close circle of multimillionaires retain their positions of power after this



war, or that other less politically stigmatized individuals take over for them. Such an occurrence would be catastrophic. If the owners go by the name of Krupp, Roechling and Thyssen or appear as Mueller, Schmidt and Kunze, the foundations of Reaction remain intact and the third World War becomes a mathematical certainty.

Influential international circles propose another solution in which the title to the larger of the German corporations and banks be taken over by the international cartels with participation of the present German proprietors. To me an equally serious danger is clearly visible here, for these cartels—their record in the past vouches for it and their business interests are so directed—will do everything in their power to bring about a reactionary political development in the heart of the European Continent and transform Germany into that "bulwark of order" against the Soviet Union.

A real solution will be to so direct the basic German production and secondary industry that in addition to efforts toward reconstruction of Europe it may serve to fulfill human needs, rather than the demands of war and destruction.

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FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

OPEN CHANNELS FOR NEWS

by

Hugh Baillie

President, United Press Association

COMPETITION for news helps create a greater flow and is the reader's best guarantee of dependability of the news, this writer believes. And he shows how government policies can foster or hinder competitive news gathering and distribution. This is another in FREE WORLD*'s series by outstanding authorities discussing the various aspects of freedom of information.*

AS the war enters its closing phases in Europe, one of the most important problems of the peace looms and cannot be side-stepped--the problem of unrestricted flow of news throughout the world.

The problem does not involve the establishment in all countries of what we in the U. S. A. term a free press. That is desirable, but not feasible, unless we wish to try to dictate our way of life to all the other countries in the world. But it does involve equal access to news at its source in all countries, equal transmission rates, no peacetime censorship. This could be arranged on a basis of reciprocity.

Unrestricted dissemination of news throughout the world by an American agency—the United Press--made great headway between the end of the last war and the rise of the totalitarian states which preceded the present war. There was, of course, a constant battle for access to government news sources. Some countries desired to have all their news go out via their government-dominated agencies. But progress was being made in the long fight which started in 1907 when the United Press decided to go out and hustle for its own news rather than accept the "handouts" of the government-owned or government-dominated agencies. United Press put its own correspondents in foreign capitals. It fought for the right to tell what was going on, by going directly to the sources of news everywhere. It entered into competition with the world-wide system of interlocking news monopolies. Several invitations to the United Press to join the cartel were declined. This organization always preferred to "roll its own."

In the realm of news distribution the United Press built up a tremendous export business in Europe, South America and the Far East. When the present war began it was supplying independent, impartial news to 194 clients in what became enemy or enemy-occupied territory, including a few in France where Havas made it extremely dif-

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ficult for any French newspaper to buy news from outside sources. In total, in September 1939 the United Press served 486 foreign newspapers, including the most important newspapers of South America, and it had fought off repeated efforts on the part of the "combine" to freeze it out of government news sources abroad. Even today, with the war on, the United Press distributes fair and impartial news to 543 newspapers and 117 radio stations abroad, and is by far the biggest worldwide distributor of news.

In the future, if we succeed in securing the right to free interchange of news among nations, there will be more uncolored information than ever available to the press of the world, since the Associated Press is now entering fields abroad from which it has heretofore been barred by the terms of its membership in the Allied agencies combine, which terms have now been altered so that the A. P. can now seek business everywhere, just as the U. P. does. Reuters, Ltd., of Great Britain has also a freer hand than before and with a young and aggressive management, it will be found active in fields where in the past it was unknown. This new competition abroad among Reuters, the Associated Press and the United Press bids fair to be very lively, and beneficial to readers everywhere. Always conceding, of course, that we are allowed equal access to operate in all countries, and that a new crop of government news monopolies does not arise after the war.

Under the old monopoly arrangements the news-territories of the world were divided up by the so-called Allied News Agencies and each agreed not to sell its news in the territory of the others. The French agency, Havas, for example, was allotted South America and had an exclusive right among the Allied Agencies to sell news of all the world to the newspapers of that Continent. Reuters, the British Agency, took the Far East, and in Japan and China had the exclusive right to sell its news of the rest of the world.

In addition, these Allied Agencies, which included all the important European press associations and Rengo of Japan, exchanged news among themselves and covered their respective countries for each other. The news of France, Germany or Italy, for example, originated with a French, German or Italian news agency, a circumstance which did not always encourage dispassionate, impartial news-reporting.

Against Monopoly

THE United Press never joined this alliance. The U. P. was founded to oppose news monopoly and immediately set out to demonstrate the worth of the contrary theory of operation, that is, that a news organization wholly independent of any other could cover the news of all the world with its own correspondents and profitably sell that news to all who wanted it, in every part of the world.

The United Press proceeded to invade the precincts of the Allied Agencies and their associates, selling a news-product which was entirely its own and which frankly boasted of its freedom from any taint or bias which government influence or subsidy might impose on others.

From the beginning the United Press was welcomed by the newspapers of other countries, both for its excellence and because it could guarantee freedom from any official viewpoint. In South America the United Press became and still is the principal source of foreign news; in the Orient until the outbreak of this war United Press clientele was growing along with rapidly improving transmission facilities; on the continent of Europe the United Press was serving a total of 151 newspapers when the war began in 1939 and even today continues to serve 85 direct, located in Sweden, Switzerland, Portugal, Spain and Finland. United Press news is now printed or broadcast in every one of the United Nations and the neutral nations of the world. And occasionally we hear of some of our dispatches being surreptitiously picked up by a publication in some Axis-dominated country, not necessarily for publication, but for the information of the editor and his friends.

The fact that a news agency of the United States has been able to win acceptance in every one of the free countries of the Old and New Worlds is a tribute to a principle —demonstrating that a world news agency can operate most successfully when it is absolutely free from restraint, bias or influ-

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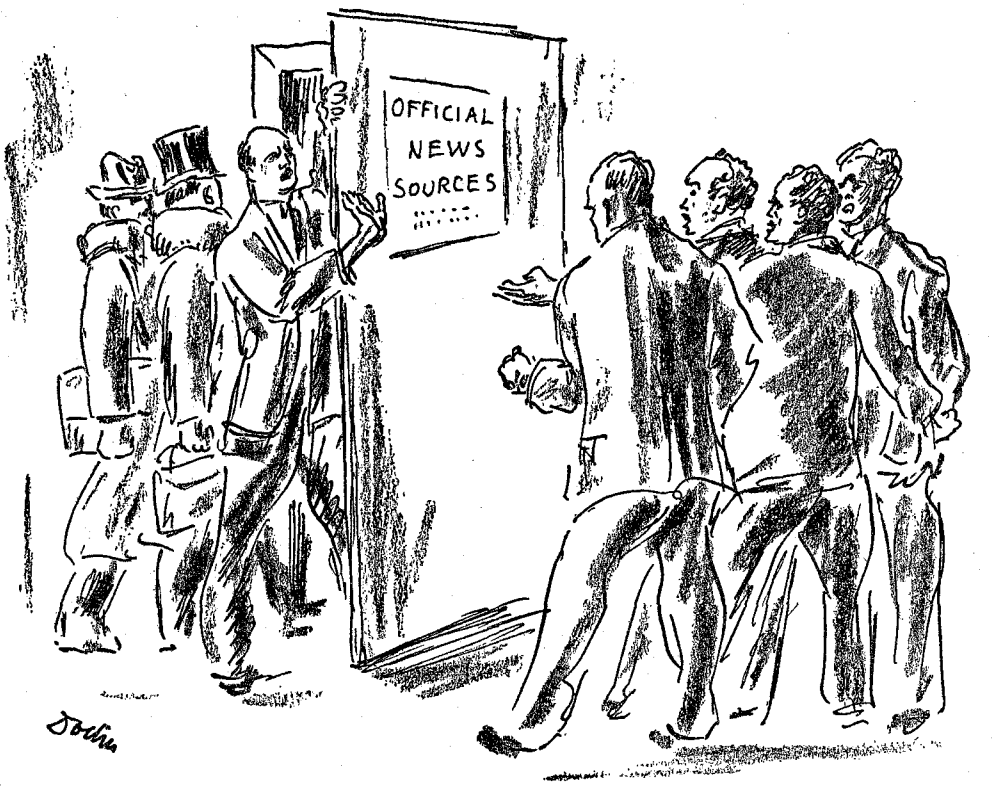

ence, official or unofficial, or even any possibility of such influence.

This concept of news is well established and familiar in our own country. However, in many foreign countries it has had to fight its way. Not every country wants freedom of the press as we practice it here and it is not my belief that we will get very far trying to impose it on those countries that don't want it.

But I do think we can ask persuasively that governments do nothing to hinder the news agencies of other countries from operating as freely within their borders as the news agencies of their own countries wish to operate in other parts of the world.

American Method

IN the United States this equal treatment of foreign news agencies is accorded, even in time of war. They enjoy equal access, with domestic agencies, to official sources of news and to transmission facilities, and they are free to sell their news to anyone who wants to buy it. All that is needed to take the first, basic step toward greater news freedom in the postwar world is for other nations to adopt the same simple policy. They would thus establish an atmosphere in which news agencies would live and flourish in accordance with the excellence of their product, rather than a hot-house climate in which they drew their sustenance from a government's purse or its favors.

We must have more than equal access to news and transmission facilities, important as these essentials are. Above them must be the challenge that exists when news competitors are vying with each other to create a superior product in order to sell more of it. It is this competition that keeps every agency on its toes every day and is the news-consumer's best guarantee of the dependability of his news.

As I see it, this freedom to compete in gathering news everywhere and freedom to compete in distributing that news to all who want it, necessitates four basic conditions:

1. News sources, particularly official sources, competitively open to all.
2. Transmission facilities competitively available to all.
3. A minimum of official regulation of the flow of news itself.

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4. All newspapers throughout the world to have access to all possible sources of news.

A world free press is highly desirable, but whether it can be achieved by inserting a clause in the peace treaty is something that remains to be seen. What we should reach for after the war, in my opinion, is competitive equality in access to the news and transmission facilities—a fair and equal status for all news agencies in all countries.

Free News Sources

IT is my feeling that no better weapon exists with which to combat news restriction and suppression than the mere existence of a free source of news. I doubt that freedom of the press can be successfully imposed where it is not wanted. I do believe that the fewer restrictions placed on the flow of news among nations, the greater are the chances that freedom of the press will win its way within those nations themselves.

After the war, we expect to sell our news to papers in foreign countries as we did before the war. If those countries refrain from setting up official or government news agencies of their own, so much the better.

Certainly we don't want any American official agency, or any combine of U. S. agencies operating as a unit overseas. That would too closely resemble the operation of the old official news agencies, especially in the eyes of the foreign press.

In all of this I have not spoken of the value of a free flow of news throughout the world as a buttress to world peace. I have not felt it necessary because I believe there is no disagreement among freedom-loving peoples on the desirability of unhindered exchange of news among all who wish to be informed. Certainly every measure taken to open up news sources and to speed that news on its way to the four corners of the world is a step in the direction of creating the better understanding among nations upon which any enduring peace must be based.

The Bull in the China Shop

IN all the countries the Germans have occupied, one of the hardest things they have had to contend with was the sharp-wittedness of the natives, who seemed to delight in forms of subtle and ironic humor toward their conquerors which often caused the duller-witted Nazis considerable mental suffering and loss of prestige. Thus the Danes at one time accorded a huge popular success to a dramatization of the Pied Piper, which made much of the driving out of the rats. When the Nazis in Denmark were annoyed, the coy civilians merely asked: "But why should you see any satire in this old story? Surely there is no connection between yourselves and rats!" All Denmark was laughing but there was little the Germans could do.

When the Germans in their turn, taking a page from the book of the natives, tried to practice a little subtle trickery themselves, they managed to be as awkward and as obvious as the legendary bull in the china shop.

For instance, they brought out a "terrifying" fake edition of a Danish Underground newspaper, "Frit Denmark." It told of secret weapons about to be unleashed on the world by the Nazis. It prophesied that in November Britain would be so reduced by such a weapon that internal political chaos would be inevitable and only the German Swastika would be able to save the day. Moreover, another secret weapon Hitler had up his sleeve would destroy the Anglo-American navies. Finally, by 1946 all Jews would be exterminated from the earth.

Danes who got copies of the fake "resistance" newspaper read it with glee, commented on its bad printing, ungrammatical phrases and even on its poor quality paper. The news was allowed to leak back to the Germans that the predictions were far from frightening. Altogether, the incident caused no great emotion—except among the Germans, who began to suspect they had pulled a trick on themselves.

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WAR . . .
and the
WORLD'S CHILDREN

BY LAURA VITRAY

IN southern England a robot bomb turns a school into rubble; many children are killed, some only maimed . . .

In France a nazi garrison machine-guns women and babies in a church . . .

In Poland boys and girls 10 to 14 are deported to work in munition plants . . .

In Czechoslovakia a boy of 6 blanches with fear. He forgot to dissemble. He told the little nazi girl Quislings don't go to Heaven. Now his father will be killed . . .

In Greece weeping youngsters storm the dock as a food ship arrives . . .

In Russia children emerge from caves that have been their hiding place . . .

In China a tiny ulcered skeleton crouches by the road in guerrilla land . . .

In India, ragamuffins cry pitifully for rice that was burned before the Jap advance . . .

And even in free America . . . a baby burns to death while its mother is at the war plant . . . a neglected boy of 8 causes a train wreck for fun . . .

WAR'S cheapest commodity is children. More are born, more die, more are permanently deprived of their right to develop into full, capable adult life. But as war nears its end the reckoning comes, for the future has to be built out of the children who remain.

Salvaging the broken children of this war is by far the greatest task that awaits the United Nations—bigger than rebuilding cities or reconverting machines to peacetime use. The job must begin wherever possible at once, and will continue long into the postwar years.

The real challenge is whether we can successfully restore millions of our youngest to the health, the moral stamina and the mental alertness which will enable them to assume the responsibilities of a free world—or whether freedom must rest in the hands of the incurably ill, the homeless and neglected, the emotionally disturbed, and the

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"new illiterates" who have been deprived of educational opportunity.

Before this war most of the democracies of the world had adopted some sort of a "bill of rights" for children, a statement of a free society's minimum obligation to them in the way of health and welfare protection and education. These moves were not lost upon the enemies of democracy. It is perhaps not without reason that children became a major target in the effort to crush human liberty.

Britain's Defenders

HUMANITY has vast recuperative powers, but these sometimes fail. At the moment when Britain had her back to the wall, it was pointed out in high official circles that many of her best defenders had never been born. World War II struck in the years when the sons of the youths who died in Flanders would have been at the height of their fighting powers. There was a great gap in the birth records, and the statisticians will tell you that a people do not fully recover from such a gap until a great many generations have passed.

Killing potential fathers is one way to destroy a people, but not the easiest one. More can be accomplished by direct attack upon the children themselves, thus annihilating or damaging many successive age groups that might have come to maturity and passed their life spark and their civilized traditions to children of their own.

Hitler's deadliest secret weapon has been his uncanny comprehension of this one fact. Nazi policy has included insurance against defeat in this war, with the assumption that victory in a third World War would be easier still, provided the peoples of Europe could be so weakened that they would be helpless to defend themselves twenty years hence. Murder, starvation, exploitation and abuse of children in the occupied lands have thus been more than mere brutality. They were part of the methodical nazi scheme for the ultimate conquest of the world.

It is ironical that while Hitler sought to conserve children for Germany and to destroy them elsewhere, the democracies, despite their recognition of children's rights, have in many instances been guilty of appalling carelessness concerning child welfare in wartime. That is true of the United States, where we waited for two years after Pearl Harbor before making any adequate provision for the children of working mothers, and where our lack of rural health facilities took a heavy toll of mothers' and babies' lives in the areas surrounding our huge army encampments. With victory approaching, the democracies are still inclined to haggle over postwar social security measures, over relief to refugees, over the health programs so important to building a better race—as if we could afford to regard our own, or any children as expendable.

A. J. Altmeyer, chairman of the Social Security Board, once remarked that "the purpose behind all plans for social security is the child." They, rather than parents or old people, represent the hope of the future. Unemployment compensation, workers' sickness and death benefits, old-age pensions, all have but one objective: to make a better generation possible by relieving the hazards that beset families.

It is high time we accepted an even broader interpretation of this truth, realizing that all our plans for world security, for world organization and international cooperation are for children, the children of many free nations. They alone can carry forward our democratic ideals. Our problem is therefore twofold: we must plan a world fit for our children to live in; and we must plan to have children fit and able to be the citizens of a democratic world. If we neglect either half of the equation,

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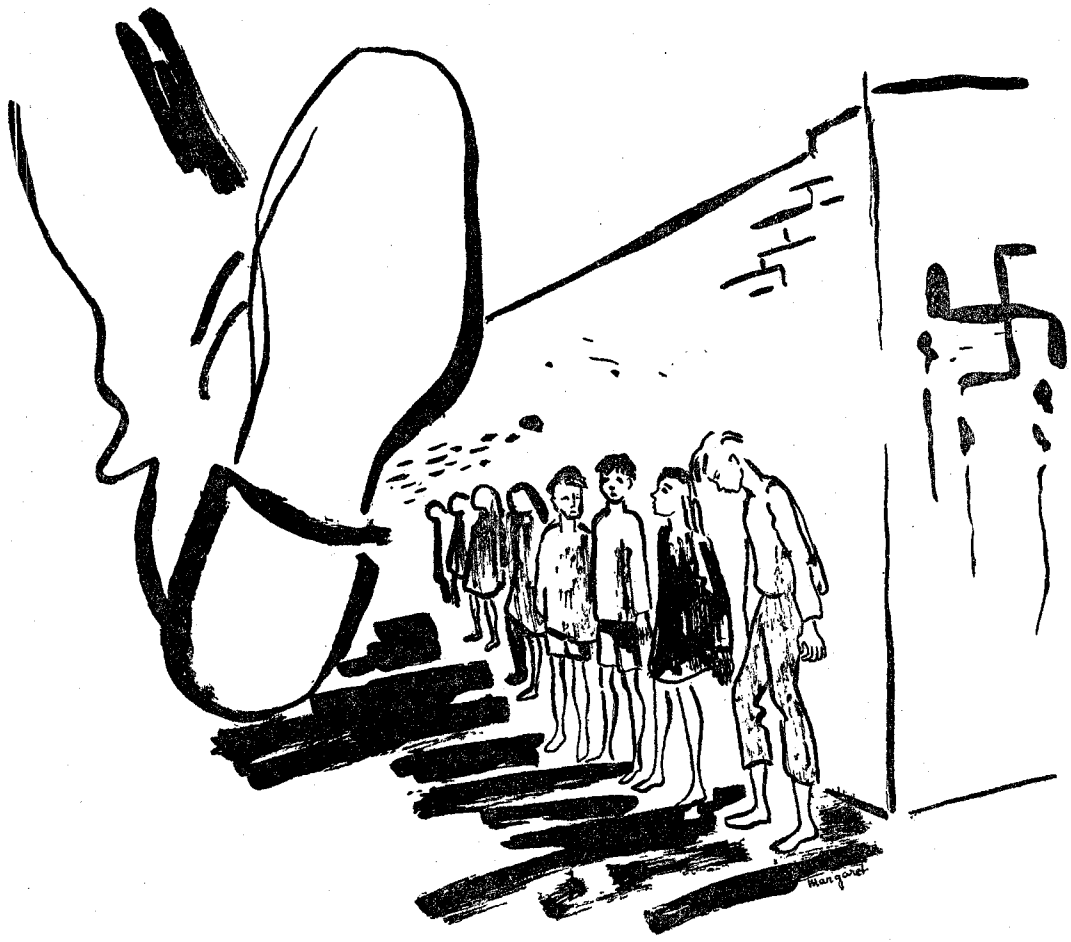

the other half will fail. Dead children cannot safeguard our peace. World security, however carefully guaranteed by the Great Powers, will be unsafe if it rests with future populations that are tubercular, debilitated, revengeful, morally contaminated, uneducated and unskilled.

With these things in mind, let us see what has been happening. The story of the war's effects on children is still fragmentary, but enough is known to give some indication of the damage that has occurred, the necessary counter measures.

In Britain, to begin with one of the *least* horrifying examples, nazi bombs destroyed 7,250 children under 16 years of age between the start of the war in 1939 and September 1944. The period of the greatest casualties was from September to December 1940, when 2,351 children were killed and 2,457 maimed. The toll of the robots, from June to August 1944 was 552 children killed and 1,119 injured.

These figures for British children are almost negligible alongside those for the countries the Nazis invaded. After all, British boys and girls could *only* be reached by bombs, and the Government early took strong measures to protect them from these.

England in fact understood the serious implications of the loss of so much of its youth in the last war. As early as 1919 the Government embarked on a broad plan for improving maternal and child health. When war struck it found Britain with rural health services that placed its most remote hamlet virtually on a par with its big cities. Everywhere mothers could be assured of proper care in maternity. Everywhere they could bring their small children to nearby health clinics for regular supervision by a doctor.

With the first evacuation of children from London it was necessary only to expand the rural services by transfer of doctors and nurses. Moreover there had been long experience in planning. Local committees soon set up hostels for children, maternity homes, residential and day nurseries and communal feeding centers. The job was done locally under supervision of the Ministry of Health; the central Government footed the bills.

By the end of 1941 child care in Britain

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had moved to a full wartime basis, with 625 hostels for children in rural areas; 721 hostels for mothers and children; and 140 emergency rural maternity homes, in which, during the year that followed more than 70,000 babies were safely born. And by April 1944, while British mothers pulled their full weight in all manner of war jobs, 216,826 children under five were receiving safe public care.

The Ministry of Health supervised the nutrition of children, and did it so well that the general health of the child population has remained excellent, in spite of such things as separation of families, the fatigue and shock of air raids and nights spent in air raid shelters in the large cities. Children receive the same rations as adults, except that they get half the meat and no tea. Expectant mothers and children under five receive extra milk and four eggs to the adult's one; shipments of oranges are reserved for children, while the clever British researchers discovered an even richer wartime source of vitamin C in currant juice and jam, and have pushed the growth of domestic currants.

The lesson of the British experience lies in the fact that they were *prepared* to protect their children, and that despite the nation's life-and-death struggle, the importance of child protection was never forgotten.

When we cross the British Channel the story of childhood in World War II takes on a darker tone. On the Continent the Nazis deliberately employed a variety of means in addition to bombings, for the extermination of children. These included mass executions, famine, epidemics, deportation of children into slavery in factories and fields, abduction of little girls to be used as prostitutes and later killed. The greatest mass murders of children were perpetrated against the Jews, in Poland and Russia. The highest rate of child death from famine was in Greece. But the same tools functioned in many places. For purposes of food distribution the Reich and its conquests were divided into three categories by the Nazis: master race, valuable slaves, and useless mouths. For the valuable slaves the ration was calculated so as to be not enough to live on, not enough to starve on.

A Swiss medical authority told this writer a year and a half ago: "There are only two kinds of children in Europe: hungry children and starving children." And he added, "The French children we bring into Switzerland to feed break our hearts, not only because they are so undernourished, but because they seem unable to think or to learn. In many cases malnutrition has arrested mental as well as physical development. When one recalls the alertness of the French mind, that is tragedy!"

Switzerland and Sweden have been the havens for Europe's children. As long as it was possible the Swiss arranged vacations into their country for starving boys and girls, chiefly from unoccupied France, keeeping each for a period of three months. The yearly total ran to more than 40,000 boys and girls from 4 to 14 . . . and this figure was exclusive of child refugees who fled into Switzerland. Swiss foster parents spent millions of francs feeding and clothing the "vacationers"; sanatoria provided special care for almost 3,000 pre-tubercular at a time; and the Swiss school children collected the "weekly penny" which became the national tax on all citizens for their small guests.

Hunger Stalks Europe

DESPITE such friendly gestures, the effects of the war on French children have been catastrophic. The Ministry for Social Service of the Provisional French Government reports that 1,000,000 children have died of hunger. There is a 25 per cent increase in infant mortality over pre-war days, a 50 per cent increase in deaths from tuberculosis. The highest mortality among children is now in southern France, where tuberculosis among undernourished children is still rising rapidly, rivaling the high wartime figures for this disease in Paris. The greatest stumbling block to feeding is transportation. Until the channel ports are functioning fully, until the French railroads can be repaired and trucks made available, supplies that are piling up on British docks cannot reach the children of France.

Estimates made in September of this year show that 18 per cent of French children suffer from total undernourishment, 48 per

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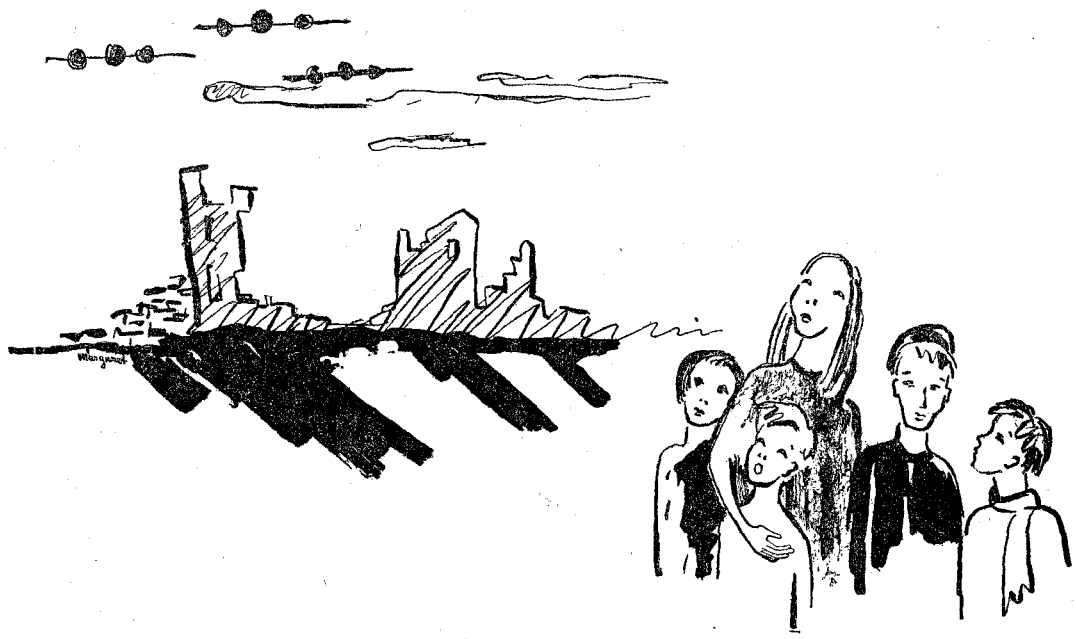

cent from general weakness, while 22 per cent are subnormal from starvation.

The International Labor Office reports that in May 1943, 80 per cent of all Belgian school children had reached the pre-tuberculosis stage, while in the Netherlands the death rate from this disease rose 47 per cent. In the Netherlands, by 1943, the child death rate from diptheria had risen 180 per cent, and anti-diptheria inoculation could not be given because in the weakened condition of the Dutch children it was apt to prove fatal.

The causes of weakness and general debility among Europe's children can better be understood if we examine their diets. The minimum requirement for health is a daily intake of 2,400 food calories. German biologists have stated that 1,600 calories daily are necessary to maintain diet above the "famine level." Yet a medical journal published in Lyons estimated the French children of the poor were getting 1,000 calories, those of prosperous families from 1,200 to 1,400 or about half normal health requirements. In Paris the diet fell as low as 800 calories.

In the Netherlands the average diet fell to 1556, or just below "famine level." In Belgium in 1944 the basic daily ration officially set by the Nazis was 1,260 calories, but lack of food in the markets reduced this to 800 or 900 calories, and a disease known as "hunger dropsy" has been rampant. In all these countries pregnant women, and nursing mothers, who require 3,000 calories, got the same low diets. As might be expected, there was a frightful increase in the stillborn; newborns were seriously underweight and a high percentage died.

Greece Has a Plan

THE story of Greek famine needs no recital. It has been said that the horror of Greece was worse than anything in Europe since the Middle Ages. In Athens in the summer of 1942 more than half the babies born died during their first few weeks. Children failed to grow teeth because their mothers had starved before they were born. Curvature of the spine and rickets were prevalent among small children. Epidemics raged. In the winter 1942-1943, orphaned children wandered the streets in gangs, scratching in rubbish for something they might consume. Sometimes they gathered in front of restaurants where fat nazi officers amused themselves throwing them a bone or a scrap. In Athens and Piraeus 110,000 of the 300,000 children died. The German Army of occupation simply ate all the food there was.

Today, a Greece that is rising from the ruins has a postwar plan for its children, to restore as many as possible to vigorous

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health, conserve those now being born. The plan is partly the outgrowth of pre-war experience. In 1936 the Rockefeller Foundation built a Demonstration Health Center in the Ambelokipi section of Athens. It was operated by the city, with the help of the Greek Ministry of Hygiene. The center had offices for doctors, public health nurses and sanitary inspectors, maternal and infant clinics, vaccination clinics, X-ray and diagnostic rooms.

After the war the Greeks intend that there shall be many of these centers to promote the health of their children. They believe that "no activity can give such lasting benefits to so large a number of people for so little money."

When it came to the Poles, the Nazis met the fierce resistance of the population with an apparent resolve to liquidate the entire nation. Characteristically, the brunt of the suffering fell on Polish children. The methods employed for eliminating children included: (1) execution; (2) starvation; (3) brutality; (4) deportation.

Before the war, out of a population of 35,000,000, Poland had 11,500,000 children under 15 years of age. After the establishment of its independence in 1918, the nation forged ahead with many plans for child welfare, including creches and nursery schools for children under 7 years whose mothers were employed; mother's welfare centers, clinics and summer camps for children, and modern schoolhouses. Education through grammar school was compulsory, but there were also a quarter of a million children in secondary schools, and 40,000 youths in Polish universities.

By June 1941 masses of adults, children and infants had been murdered throughout the length and breadth of Poland. Elimination of children was a marked part of the pattern. For instance, in Bydgoszcz, where 10,000 persons were executed by January 1940, a hundred small boy scouts were on one occasion seized in the streets, lined up on the steps of the Jesuit church and machine-gunned. A pebble thrown through a window at Gdynia caused 50 little school boys to be publicly beaten with clubs by SS men, who later shot ten of them and ordered their bodies exposed before the church without burial for twenty-four hours.

Starvation being effective, if less dramatic, for eliminating millions of children, the little Poles were granted an official diet of 467 calories, as compared with the norm of 2,400 for health, or the Nazi "famine level" of 1,600 calories. In Warsaw it was set even lower at 375 calories. Of course, at these figures, disease becomes the ally of starvation: tuberculosis, infantile paralysis, diptheria, scarlet fever helped to complete the task. Also, Nazis chose the healthiest Polish children and transported them to German field hospitals where they used them for constant blood transfusions until they died and were cast aside.

In 1942 the deportation of Polish children to forced labor started. Boys and girls were housed in dirty barracks without heat, underfed, demoralized. Those 10 to 14 were used on night shifts in munition plants, ten hours a night. They were used in the fields, in roadbuilding, clearing snow from railroads with little clothing and no shoes. Those unable to work were sent to concentration camps, and executed in gas chambers as "useless mouths."

By these methods the original figure of 11,500,000 Polish children has been drastically cut, probably by many millions.

A parallel story can be told for the other nations of Europe and for the parts of Russia invaded by the Nazis. No over-all statistics on children have been released by the U.S.S.R. since the outbreak of the war, but reliable estimates place the figure for murdered children at well past the million mark. Every Jewish child found in Great Russia, Ukraine and Byelorussia was exterminated; young Soviet boys and girls were bled to death, starved to death, or sent off to perish at hard labor in Germany by the hundreds of thousands. Starvation took a heavy toll in besieged areas such as Leningrad, where in 16 months of siege large numbers of children perished.

Soviet medicine has countered these blows of the Nazi "secret weapon" with strenuous measures to eliminate epidemics, and with preventive medicine to counter the effects of malnutrition in the liberated areas. Psychological and emotional disturbances have likewise been met by modern techniques for erasing mental scars and directing the bitterness of children into constructive channels.

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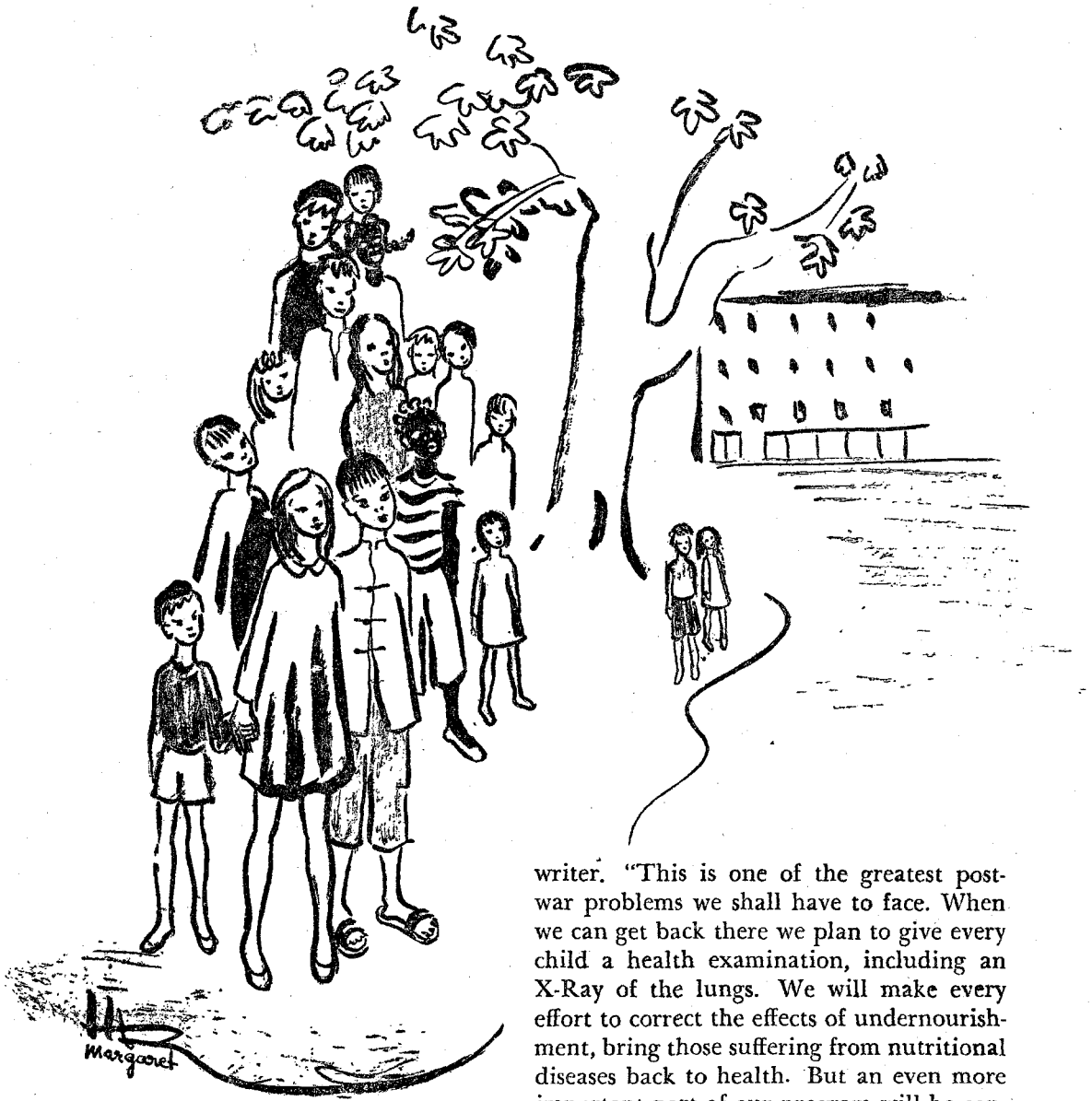

Harm to Children's Souls

THE damage that has been done to childrens' minds and souls in conquered Europe is regarded by many experts as even worse than physical disease. They have lacked sound conditions for moral and mental development. They have quite naturally been dominated by feelings of hatred and revenge that now seek an outlet. This is not a secure human foundation on which to construct a future free world.

"Our children in Czechoslovakia have been turned into liars by necessity," Dr. Joseph Brumlik of that country told this writer. "This is one of the greatest post-war problems we shall have to face. When we can get back there we plan to give every child a health examination, including an X-Ray of the lungs. We will make every effort to correct the effects of undernourishment, bring those suffering from nutritional diseases back to health. But an even more important part of our program will be concerned with children's distorted emotions and social attitudes. Unless we set these right, what sort of future can our nation hope for?"

As the nations of Europe are liberated and supplies begin to flow in, the layman is apt to feel that a major portion of the problem is solved. He realizes that ruins must be rebuilt—but in peace, as in war, he is apt to overlook the ruins of the peoples themselves, who, through their children, must be restored to life and health.

Nor is this war's toll confined to Europe alone. At the other end of the Axis—in the Orient, in China and India and throughout the East—there has been a ghastly sacrifice

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of child life in the course of World War II.

In the winter of 1942-1943 wartime famine struck the province of Bengal, India, and lasted throughout the year. According to Indian sources the cause was the heavy requisitioning of rice for military purposes, plus the fact that stores of rice were destroyed through fear of imminent Japanese invasion. What remained was hoarded by the rich, as prices soared. Of the inhabitants of Bengal 3,500,000 died, according to population sampling estimates made by the University of Calcutta. The number of children who perished was over 1,000,000, while another 2,000,000 were left incurably ill. This was the worst, but only one of several war-caused famines in India.

Millions of children throughout China are today famine enfeebled and ill, orphaned and homeless. In the vast guerrilla regions of the Northwest there have been Japanese massacres and there has been the famine that followed after tens of thousands of farmers had been killed. In Kwantung, the southernmost coastal province, a million people recently died of famine. In China's western provinces, flooded with refugees from the war zones, epidemics, so easily spread by people on the move, have killed children like a blight withering the young rice plants.

If you want to get some idea of the suffering and immense needs of children in these remote regions of China, you might try a little comparison. Think for a moment of England's pre-war health centers in the rural areas, and how they served the wartime evacuation of children. Think of America where we have excellent State Health Departments, yet were caught napping in the rural regions when war brought wives and infants following their husbands to the neighborhood of the great camps. Now picture the situation in backward areas of China, suddenly flooded with refugees.

The Chinese are newly aware of the value of their children. Madame Chiang Kai-shek directs an effort that cares for 20,000 in Free China. Madame Sun Yat-sen heads relief in the guerrilla regions. Says the widow of the founder of the Republic of China: "The army of children left homeless and unprotected by the war claims more than our sympathy and charity. It represents a whole generation of future citizens who will be called on to build a new China, after the achievement of victory for which their parents are fighting, suffering, dying."

Her words are prophetic of a spirit that must imbue all the United Nations, regarding all children throughout the world, if this war's victory is to be perpetuated in democracy and in peace. Children deserve more than our sympathy and charity. We must give them:

A safe world through world organization that is real, and not a hypocritical shell;

A healthy world, in which a child's body can grow straight and strong;

A full world in which children continue to eat, even if a crop fails or a factory closes down;

A good world, with decent surroundings, so they can grow to be decent men and women;

A world of opportunity, in which every child is educated to his capacity and given a chance to use his skills.

We must have laws, programs, campaigns to wipe out prejudice, cooperation within nations and between them. The ball of freedom will be carried over some future goal by children who are black, white, yellow—but ours. We must have a new spirit with which to back them. If we only keep our eyes on them, it will be easy.

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The Glass Necklace

BY KONSTANTIN PAUSTOVSKY

A little girl in the Carpathian mountains wins the hearts of a Russian regiment.

AT dawn, in the peasants' huts, there is always the same hubbub of housework, whether it be in the Ukraine or in a mountain village of the Carpathians. There is the odor of bread a trifle sour, an old man is puttering about; the roosters still half asleep commence to chant; one hears the tick-tock of the great clock. The air outside the window panes becomes almost blue, one's mind pictures the freshness of the newborn day, the dew on the grass. Little by little, one makes out a black crucifix over the door, a fur jacket without sleeves thrown on the table, a felt hat faded with the sun.

All at once, one understands that Russia is far off. What seem to be heavy clouds covering the surface of the windows are in reality the Carpathian mountains. Beyond the chimneys, behind the forest, behind the mist, a round of cannon fire resounds. A new day of battle has begun. One goes out and washes up in the courtyard. The freezing water chases in an instant all trace of sleep, and memories return.

The lawn in front of the cottage is full of flowers, and the soldiers, in order not to walk on them, take the long way round. The air is fragrant. The sun is still behind the mountains, but the highest branches of the forest are illuminated on their eastern side by the golden blanket of the first rays.

In the cottage live old Ignatz and his little daughter Hania. The grandfather

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is bent with age and sick. He has passed his life as a woodcutter, but for more than a year now, he has not been able to hold the heavy axe. "Thank God," says he, "that I had enough strength to make the sign of the cross when I saw the Russian cannon." The old man cannot even go alone to the church. Hania has to lead him there. Her grandfather kneels before the altar adorned with artificial blue flowers, his heavy gray hair stirs on his head, he murmurs prayers of gratitude for bread, and for the liberation of his dear country, for the days of his life that God has accorded him.

The countryside has a beauty that is striking. Hills upon hills succeed each other like immense waves of foliage and of light. The sky is so pure, so deep, and the air that one breathes is like a sublime draught brewed out of pine and snow.

We have held the village since yesterday. The inhabitants were hidden in the forest to avoid the Germans. Around us, nothing but children and old women, old men. The Germans have dug in close, just behind the mountain gap. They control the only possible road. We will need a guide if we are to try to get a foothold on the heights overlooking the Germans. It is only from above that we can hope to dislodge them from their position.

But instead of a guide, they bring before the lieutenant a little girl of ten years. She is wearing a full red skirt with a white border, a yellow buttoned jacket and a silk scarf that covers her head. Small, dressed as for a festival, eyes fixed on the ground, she stands before us, smoothing her blue apron with nervous hands.

"Isn't it possible to find someone a little older?" the lieutenant asks, astonished.

All the old men standing in a group glance at one another, lift their felt hats, scratch their backs and explain that the little girl is the granddaughter of a famous hunter and woodchopper in the region, and that unfortunately, no one knows better than she the path to the Czech summit. Of course, old Ignatz knows the way, but he is too feeble, and for the past year he has not been able to go up into the mountains.

Doubtfully, the lieutenant asks, "You think you can lead us up there without losing your way through the forest?"

"Oh, yes," she replies, blushing.

"And you can lead us by secret paths, so that not even a bird will see us?"

"Oh, yes," the little one repeats, blushing an even deeper red.

"And you are not afraid?" the lieutenant asks severely.

The soldiers round about did not hide their dissatisfaction. What a guide! Truly, this conversation was not to be taken seriously!

The little girl did not reply. She simply lifted her great gray eyes to the lieutenant, and then she smiled, and once again lowered the lids over them. The soldiers smiled, too. No one had expected to see a glance as happy and as timid emerge from behind the black lashes of the little girl Hania.

The child led the detachment without the slightest faltering. They reached the heights and cleaned out the Germans who were blocking their advance.

THAT night, the little girl came back with Maleev, a wounded soldier. He was a daring fighter, a man above reproach except for a certain fondness for gossip. Maleev, seated on a rock near the house of Ignatz, drank milk and delivered an oration to the old folks of the village, his right arm imprisoned in a dressing.

"You shall see," he was saying, "our leaders will recompense her. No doubt about that! She's smart and she's brave. Such qualities are not expended on us for naught. Have no doubt about that, honorable gentlemen!"

The old men smiled and nodded their heads in assent. "Yes, and it's not just the leaders," Maleev went on, "the soldiers are grateful, too. They can't find enough words of praise for her. We would like to make her a gift. But what? None of us can find a good idea. You know the sort of thing you find in a soldier's knapsack, his rations and bullets. She should have something like a doll. . . ."

Maleev explained in detail the life of a soldier, winked at Hania, and rattled something in his pocket, but no one understood what he was driving at. In his pocket he had hidden a necklace of sparkling glass. He had received it from the lieutenant

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who had ordered him to present it in the morning to the little girl, as a surprise. He must do it with tact. For instance, he wasn't to pull the necklace out of his pocket and slip it into the little girl's hand with a blunt "Here, this is for you." No, he must do it in the grand manner. He must use a great deal of tact, and add a little mystery. Maleev had gaily determined to accomplish his mission as well as possible, although he realized that the task before him was both difficult and delicate.

NIGHT fell and the old men dispersed. Stars illumined the sky above the Carpathians, the noise of the waterfalls could be clearly heard, the odor of wild herbs floated in from the forest. Grandfather Ignatz, soldier Maleev and little Hania remained for a long time seated close to the cottage. The flow of words from Maleev's lips had finally faded out, when Hania asked: "Have you rivers like ours, at Moscow? Or is it very different?"

"Different," replied Maleev. "Ours are beautiful, and so are yours. Our rivers are broad, deep, with flowering banks and pastures. They run toward the Black Sea, bearing white ships with silken flags that flap in the wind. Numberless towns, brilliantly lighted, are spread along their course on both banks."

"And is the forest different, too?"

"Yes, the forest is different, too. Full of mushrooms. For thousands of kilometers, there are mushrooms of all sorts. And the trees are of all sorts, too. A paradise for the woodchopper!"

As the little girl was silent, the soldier cried: "And the people? Don't you want to know about the people in my country?"

"I know the people," replied Hania, glancing at Maleev with her smiling gray eyes.

"A good reply," the soldier declared. "You know, it's a pleasure to talk with someone like you."

Maleev rose early the next morning, went out and looked about him, took the necklace out of his pocket and hung it on a fence that ran along the road not far from the house. Then he found himself an observation post, at the corner of the house. Hania had gone to fetch water at the stream. On her return she would pass close to the fence. Maleev was sure that she would notice the necklace. He had carefully breathed on each colored stone of the necklace, polishing one after the other with his wool cap. The stones shone in the sun as if the necklace were of diamonds.

Hania came out of the thicket, saw the necklace, stopped, smiled, put down her bucket and moved lightly toward the fence, timidly reaching out her hand for the string of stones. She moved with infinite precaution, as if she were afraid it might fly away like a bird.

Suddenly, she cried out, and burst into tears, drawing the ends of her scarf together in despair.

Maleev, astonished, bounded from his corner, and saw a youngster fleeing along the fence, the necklace grasped tightly in his hand.

"I've spoiled everything," Maleev thought, and with a voice like the last judgment he roared: "Drop the necklace. Drop it. If you don't, you'll be sorry!"

The youngster turned, threw the necklace in the grass and continued his flight with even greater speed.

Everything happened exactly as the lieutenant had not wished it should. Maleev picked up the necklace, approached Hania who was in tears, pushed the string of beads into her hand, and, confused, murmured: "It's for you. Take it."

The element of mystery had vanished, and the gesture was without grace. When the little girl lifted her eyes to his they were filled with tears and with gratitude, the soldier took a step back from her and said: "It's a present from my comrades. The leaders will thank you separately."

OLD Ignatz was at the threshold of his cottage, watching them with a smile. When they drew near, he took the necklace, holding it up to the light so that the stones sparkled, then placed it around the neck of his granddaughter. "What a necklace! More beautiful than gold!"

Hania set down her pail of water and studied the stones with radiant eyes. The dancing water in the pail reflected the sun onto the necklace, which shone on the child's bronzed throat like an infinity of tiny flowers.

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London Letter

PLANS AND POLITICS IN BRITAIN

by

Mary Seaton

THE Government's recently announced Demobilization Plan stirred all Britain to face the question of what will follow victory. With the expectation that there will be a General Election in the Spring, political parties and pressure groups are perfecting their policies in readiness to go to the country. Meantime the publication of the Government's long deferred White Paper on social security has intensified the lineup for peacetime legislation now going on between Progressives and Conservatives.

The Paper on a comprehensive social insurance plan goes further along the line of Beveridge's ideas than was generally expected, even by Beveridge. It sets up a new Ministry of Social Insurance, and on the whole it takes a very considerable step toward a planned, secure future for everyone. But it favors old people rather than children, and is drawing the comment from Progressive critics: "Old people have, children have not."

The Plan's chief weakness lies in the fact that it is static. It is not based on cost of living figures, and therefore any further rise in prices will automatically reduce the value of its benefits, which are even now nutritionally inadequate. Ministry of Labor figures estimate living costs up 30 per cent in 1939, and even reactionaries admit this is a gross understatement.

The salient issue is, of course, what sort of government will administer the Plan. This depends on the General Election. Progressives who welcome the Plan are still inclined to suspect it has a Tory vote-catching window dressing which would be whittled down if administered by a Tory government.

The Plan's chief virtue is that it will act as a wage floor, forcing employers to keep wages substantially above it. Its most revolutionary aspect is the eighty dollar death benefit. When Beveridge urged death benefits to cover funeral expenses he was viciously attacked by all big insurance companies.

Both Right and Left Wing papers and politicians welcome the social insurance plan, but they point out that full employment and flourishing foreign trade are always the basis of domestic well-being. Discussion centers about the means for achieving these.

In Parliament the Coalition shows signs of a future split on many postwar topics, but particularly in respect to peace terms for Germany. Tory and Progressive differences are becoming increasingly accentuated. This intensification in Britain's political warfare between the would-be restorers of capitalism and the advocates of socialism may play an increasingly important part in the background of European events, especially as leading European Socialists and Progressives are individually urging labor to take the initiative in calling a World Socialist Conference.

As for the average Britisher, he has never

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been more internationally conscious, nor more interested in his own national affairs than he is today. Employment, housing, postwar Germany, the future structure of Europe, the possibility of World War III . . . these are subjects recurring constantly in public debate and in private conversation.

My milkman, for instance, has decided views on Germany. He left school at fourteen, earns less than twenty dollars a week, has been bombed three times since 1940 and lost his only child in a recent fly-bomb raid. And of Germany he says: "What with Russia occupying half of it, and us and America running the rest, the different sets of ideas are going to clash." Bertrand Russell, recently back from America, said precisely the same thing to me a few days ago, except that for "ideas" he substituted "ideology" and for "clash" "conflict."

The milkman is thinking as well as the philosopher. The popular papers are crammed each day with political speeches and programs, with informative articles. Ordinary people—and that includes the professionals and middle-class workers who will admit to you they never thought much about politics or international affairs before the war—are beginning to consider, discuss, argue.

New Awareness of Postwar

THE slackening of London's fly-bomb battle, postwar forecasts, the easing-up of civil defense and some sorts of war work, the lifting of the blackout, the demobilization Plan, and finally, as I write, the emergence of the Social Insurance Plan have all pricked the nation into a new mental energy. By comparison, we were mentally lethargic six months ago. D-Day lay ahead. In almost each heart there was an overwhelming suspense. The war effort was intense; and this with firewatching, ARP, queueing and the dozen more war-imposed tasks took up most of people's energies.

Now Germany's defeat is certain this winter. Japan remains, but the feeling is that she may collapse soon after Germany. We can at last see the end. We are planning for when our men come home and within the national pattern each person is thinking out his own postwar scheme. Even Labor Minister Bevin is not immune; he has practically decided to quit active politics and start a big independent Left Wing daily.

There is no sense of loud rejoicing—rather one of quiet thankfulness, of planning. For although the end is in sight there may still be much bloodshed in Europe. Orders, it is true, are already being placed at London's West End hotels for tables on Victory night; but restaurateurs, accepting them dubiously, ask: "And which *will* be V night?" There may yet be revolution in Europe. Certainly victory will be staggered.

Jobs and Homes

RECONSTRUCTION issues are becoming more urgent. Recently I reported the total number of new homes needed throughout the country as 2,750,000. Now you must add to that the fly-bomb damage. In London alone 100,000 homes have been destroyed and 107,000 seriously damaged. Building experts estimate that 150,000,000 tiles and slates, 200,000,000 feet of ceiling board and 50,000,000 square feet of glass are among the items required to patch up our grievously wounded city. London's mayors and M.P.'s are urging speedier action, while huts are being run up temporarily to shelter the homeless. Ironically, Paris, which suffered German occupation, may have a more comfortable winter than London, which escaped it.

As for jobs, the Government's Full Employment White Paper has now been before the country four months. Its application depends chiefly on which party is successful in the coming General Election. Work will have to be found for the millions of service men and women expecting demobilization within the next two years. Thus the two issues of homes and jobs are adding fuel to the present political heat wave.

Plans of the Parties

THE Labor party has called a Conference for December 11, and has already invited resolutions from its affiliated organizations and individual groups on such topics as postwar international settlements; economic

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controls and public ownership; full employment and social security; housing. Pressure within the Party now is such that it is certain to go to the country on a full socialist program, probably free from any post-election coalition bargain. Certain changes in the Party's constitution are also now being urged. If adopted they will make it more democratic and less enslaved by the unions' bloc votes.

The left here has drawn inspiration from the achievements of the Maquis, Tito, and the rest of the resistance groups. Moreover the presence in London of the Dominions labor chiefs is cheering. But there is a feeling that more is needed: that it is up to the British Labor movement, as Philip Murray suggests, to lead a new world socialist international.

Common Wealth, the Independent Labor and Communist Parties will also be holding conferences shortly to discuss their General Election plans. It is almost certain C. W. and I.L.P. will apply for affiliation with Labor on the basis of a common program and agreement over seats, and there is a good chance of their being accepted. But Labor's Transport House still distrusts the Communists and while the Communists are wooing affiliation Harry Pollit makes it all the more difficult by deciding to contest Herbert Morrison's seat! The significance of a real united socialist front cannot be over-estimated; for Common Wealth claims it can win certain middle-class seats that Labor cannot, and a pooling of all resources might for the first time bring a socialist majority to power.

The stumbling block, from the Socialists' viewpoint, is the Liberal party. Both Conservatives and Socialists tend to ignore it in their political calculations. Yet there is considerable chance of a Liberal come-back. Some wealthy people are prepared to back it generously, regarding it as the best defense against a socialist victory. Moreover, Beveridge is one catch. Montgomery may be another. And the Party has certainly been active in launching progressive postwar policies.

The Conservatives meanwhile hold the trump card. For it is the Tory whips, in conference with the Tory organizers, who will decide when the Election is to be held. They are grooming glamorous young forces candidates (as indeed are other parties) and polishing up an organization which is already in better condition than that of their rivals. They will have Churchill's tremendous popularity—probably his direct leadership, and a progressive-sounding policy. Despite the pronounced swing to the Left they have a good chance.

E-Day Coldness

EVERYONE is wondering when E-Day—Election Day—will come. Already there is a coldness entering the Tory-Labor Coalition. One proof of this is the 200 amendments criticizing the Town and Country Planning Bill—mostly from Labor. This, the most important and controversial of all domestic Bills, will be debated again when the House of Commons meets and will probably be rejected. It governs the entire legislation for postwar housing and building and land reconstruction and has been attacked by every faction except the right.

In November Parliament will either be renewed for another year—its tenth—or will agree on a date for E-Day. It is probable it will decide to continue the Coalition until Germany is defeated. Then, when the Tory whips have decided when E-Day is to be, the country will have seven weeks in which to prepare after the Proclamation. Therefore, although a November or December Election is possible it is very improbable before the Spring.

Beveridge's nomination as a Liberal anti-Government candidate in a forthcoming Scottish by-election is causing considerable interest. Many months ago, when the Government was cold-storing his social security scheme, I asked him: "How do you feel about it?" He replied, with what struck me then as surprising joviality: "They asked for it. They've got it. And if they won't listen now they'll have to in the future."

The "future," for Beveridge, is obviously drawing near; for he is certain to win and enter Parliament in time to take an active part in its debate on the long-expected Social Security White Paper.

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WORLD DEMOCRACY *and* U. S. JOBS

by
JAMES G. PATTON

"There is one way above all others in which the United States can aid the European democracies. Let her regain and maintain her normal prosperity. A prosperous United States exerts, directly and indirectly, an immense beneficent force upon world affairs. A United States thrown into financial and economic collapse spreads evil far and wide, and weakens France and England just at the time when they have most need to be strong."

THESE words of Winston Churchill's were not idle when Britain's great war leader uttered them in 1937. Their truth is apparent now to everyone except, perhaps, to some Americans. The United States is slow in accepting the burden of world responsibility that its shoulders must carry now. Edging tentatively toward world organization, nevertheless, it must inevitably play the part of the giant it is. Sooner or later, world organization will be an accomplished fact, and upon the United States mainly devolves the decision as to time. But regardless of world organization, our country cannot escape world responsibility. For the United States merely to exist is for it to occupy a place somewhere near center stage.

Citizens of the United States even yet do not act as if they were aware that this is the situation in which they find themselves. But even among those who do recognize this truth, only a few see, too, that the welfare of democracy in their own country is essential to the welfare of democracy everywhere. As our own freedom and prosperity and well-being expand, so do we make it possible for freedom and prosperity and well-being all over the world to find wider and wider boundaries.

In other countries this fact has long been acknowledged. The quotation above from the British Premier can be paralleled by many similar statements of other leaders. They are well aware that the weight of United States wealth, resources, technological knowledge, craft skills, and experience in modern production is so heavy that it will tip world economic scales in whatever way the American balance moves.

And as its economic scale inclines, so will the scale of freedom and democracy.

Thus, it seems to me that the responsibility of the United States for world leadership includes responsibility for an internal tranquillity, in the words of the Constitution, so irrevocable, so firmly based, that it will stand as the beneficent exemplar of democracy to all peoples everywhere. The beacon that is held aloft in New York harbor must be a sign to the world that democracy works, that it works not just in crisis or just in limited ways, but that it actually does give the masses of men everywhere their best promise of abundant life.

Probably each one of us comes pretty close to agreeing with these statements. But how can we manage to give them something more than lip-service? I think the first thing we must do is to agree that full employment is a modern requirement, that people are going to demand that the complex industrial civilization in which we live must at least afford them the minimum that tri-

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bal existence in prehistoric ages afforded them: the opportunity for work useful to their people. Moreover, this work must yield them some measure of the abundance that they know is potential in the present-day economy. Here, again, there is not too much disagreement.

Action Is Needed

THE area of difficulty is the area of action, of doing something about these fine words. As president of the National Farmers Union, I have recently tried to translate this agreement on the objective of full employment into the prosaic language of legislation. Until a start is made toward wrestling with the practical obstacles to a program of full employment, there is likely to be little result. Hence, during the Senate debate over the Kilgore and George Reconversion Bills I proposed to Senators that an amendment be made to the former Bill whereby the Government of the United States would assume responsibility for *maintaining full employment.*

This proposal was based on the general understanding among economists that the expenditure of a certain sum for investment in enterprise and for construction is necessary if cyclical depressions are to be avoided. This understanding includes the further assumption that the accumulation of savings that do not go into productive enterprise is the key obstacle to investment, full employment, full production.

Under its terms, a joint committee of Congress would estimate annually the amount of prospective private investment during the ensuing fiscal year. The particular committee mentioned in the proposal is the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, composed of the five ranking members each of the House Ways and Means and Senate Finance Committees. Once this estimate had been made, the machinery would be set in motion for seeing that there was sufficient Government investment to maintain full employment.

The estimate of the Joint Committee would include estimates of the likely private and state and local expenditures for investment and construction. Once this had been obtained and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation had been notified, then the RFC would offer to make loans to private business firms up to the amount required to bring about or to continue full employment. This offer would stand for one month, at the end of which time the RFC would report the amount of loans it would make. This would be added to the previous total of private, and local and state investment.

If this total still fell short of the sums that would be required to give jobs to all, then the federal government would be authorized to embark upon a National Works Program. The Director of War Mobilization and Adjustment now authorized by Congress would call upon all appropriate agencies of government to plan such a program and to have it ready for early operation. The Works Program would include provision of services—health, technical advice, school aid—as well as physical construction. The amount that could be spent in such a program would be limited to the amount needed to maintain full employment.

$40 Billion Limit

IN the particular amendment submitted to the Senate, this upper limit was set at $40 billions. That amount probably would not be required immediately to insure full employment, but allowing for increased productivity, increased population, and increased wants, it is likely that by the end of a decade it would be necessary for that much investment and construction expenditure to be made every year, whether public or private. Whatever the needed amount of public investment, however, the Director would be called upon to increase or decrease the amount of public investment as the volume of private investment increased or decreased. The guide always would be whether there was sufficient expenditure to give all able-bodied citizens useful jobs.

One of the practical difficulties in the way is that of turning on and off the flow of public investment with sufficient speed to adjust to changing private investment. This is a real problem. Yet I think it is one that can readily be overcome if we put our minds to it. For example, the rough sketches of a Conservation Works Program were worked out several years ago by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. This

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kind of program is not "made" work. It is vitally needed to build up the Nation's basic soil and forest resources. Yet it could employ millions of men, if necessary.

Another point that needs to be stressed in relation to such a public investment program is that there are certain public development jobs that need to be done even if there is no threat of mass unemployment. I have in mind the continued expansion of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the initiation of such great projects as the proposed Missouri Valley and Arkansas Valley Authorities and the St. Lawrence Seaway. It should be understood that I advocate going right ahead with such great regional resource developments, and that, far from being incompatible with such a National Works Program as my proposal envisions, they would be dovetailed with it.

A Mature U. S. A.

IT is time that the United States acted up to its maturity. Already other nations have taken tentative steps in the direction of this "full employment" proposal. In Sweden it has been proved that it is possible for industrialists to budget their investment expenditures a year ahead, and for them and the government to assess the total of such private expenditures. In England, the present government already has assumed as one of its "primary aims and responsibilities the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment after the war." "The Government," Lord Woolton's report adds, "is prepared to accept in future the responsibility for taking action at the earliest possible stage to arrest a threatening slump."

But the rest of the world will be hopelessly crippled in its struggle toward secure prosperity unless it can rely upon stability and ever-increasing levels of living in the United States. Last spring Gunnar Myrdal, the eminent Swedish economist, made a profoundly significant speech to the National Economic Society of Sweden, in which, after many years in this country, he spoke with deep pessimism of the present outlook in the United States.

> "It is to be expected that America after the end of the war in Europe will experience a high degree of economic unrest," Myrdal said.
>
> "There will be shortages in certain fields and overproduction in others. Price development will be uncertain and the price structure will be badly shattered. There will certainly be mass unemployment in large areas. Great difficulties are likely to arise on the labor market yet it is possible that a 'sellers' market will be established so generally as to avoid an immediate postwar slump; but probably within the period of, let us say, from half a year to three years, this development will change over into a slump.
>
> "In the field of agriculture a continued shortage of production and very high prices are to be expected for a few years after the end of the European war. But thereafter an overproduction crisis must be apprehended.
>
> "This crisis may be very severe, and can have an unfavorable influence in industrial activity, in case the latter at the same time shows a tendency to pass into a state of decline and depression."

All Eyes on Us

MYRDAL standing before his Swedish audience is symbolic of the world looking at the United States in hope and uncertainty. It seems to me that, although the prospect must be dark to an honest, hardheaded economist, there are intangible factors in the United States that justify us in emphasizing the hope rather than the uncertainty. American resilience and American ingenuity are imponderables, but they are very real. At bottom, Myrdal's pessimism rests on two linked bases: Fear that the fake "free enterprise" campaign of certain business interests has paralyzed public opinion to the point where only another crash can generate public action; and fear that government has been so terrorized by reaction that it cannot prepare to avert that crash.

It is my faith that this is not necessarily so. The extraordinary ability of the United States to achieve beyond "realistic" prediction has been demonstrated during the war. Let all of us who are of good will join forces and we can achieve in peace what we have achieved in war. Let us act now to achieve full employment in an American way. In so doing we will have put in place a keystone in the arch of enduring peace.

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MEMORY OF FIENDS AND HEROES

The Gestapo put a high price on Emilienne Moreau's head—but did not catch this heroine of two wars. Decorated in World War I for warning the Allies of a German ambush, in World War II she organized Resistance in the north of France, escaped to England as a nazi dragnet closed in on her.

By

EMILIENNE MOREAU

ON an evening of 1941 I was on a train traveling from Hazebrouck toward Lens. The obscurity was complete, since for greater security the Germans had suppressed all lighting in the compartments.

At a way station the door of my compartment opened. A lady climbed aboard with great difficulty, and as I hastened to assist her I noticed that she had an artificial leg.

"I am terribly clumsy," she said. "I've only had my apparatus a short time, and I am tired, but I did want to visit the graves of my husband and children!"

"Are your parents buried here too?" I asked.

"Yes, in the next town." She mentioned it by name.

"Ah . . ." The very name of the town carried a weight of grief. "Awful things happened there when the Boches arrived," I said.

"Oh, Madame, I bear witness to that."

There was a long silence between us. Then, in a voice that seemed more dreary than the darkness surrounding us, she began to tell me her story. Her home town was farther North. Like everyone else, at the moment of the invasion she had left it hastily, with her husband and her three sons, of whom the youngest was fifteen. They traveled on foot, and not swiftly, for the Germans surprised them only a few kilometers away, just as they surprised thousands of other French people on the roads of France, adults and children, old men, women and babies.

"The Boches ordered the men to line up at the side of the road," she said, in that low, even voice. "Then they machine-gunned them. My youngest boy tried to seek refuge in his mother's arms. But a Boche officer grabbed him by the hair and tore him away from me. First he shot him down with his revolver, then he turned his fire on me.

"My husband and my two other sons were killed . . . but my little fellow didn't die right away. He lay there close to me on the ground, begging for water, but I was badly wounded too and unable to get it for him. After three hours someone came and took me away to a hospital . . . but they were too late for him."

Something in the monotone of her voice brought vividly to my mind, there in the darkness of our train, the agony of her son.

And listen to this one: after her recovery, the Germans offered her a pension provided she would sign a paper stating that she had been injured in England!

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FRENCH women have suffered grievously in this war. In a great northern city, the RAF came to bombard the port which was a possible point of departure for an invasion of Britain. The houses near the port were greatly damaged. One housewife who had gone to market found her house demolished by a bomb; her children and her husband were beneath the ruins.

A German officer, quitting a group in which he had been standing, came toward this woman insane with grief and remarked cynically; "That's how the British thank you for your kind sentiments toward them!"

The woman, out of her mind, screamed at him: "You band of savages, it's you murdered my babies!" She picked up a brick, and only the efforts of her neighbors restrained her from hurling it in his face, an act that would have meant her immediate execution.

IN a southern city, the British bombed a great tire factory that was working for the Germans. Among the victims was a young man of twenty-one, who had his arm torn off. Marshal Pétain paid a visit to this city, thinking to be well received. But all the houses were closed up for his arrival, shutters locked tight. With several nazi officers he visited the hospital where the young man who had been wounded lay, stopping before his bed and inquiring about him in a compassionate tone.

"Are you suffering, my little friend?"

The young workman replied: "If I am suffering, it is not from my wound, but from the sight of you, sir, accompanied by Germans, and at the thought of your collaboration with them."

Needless to say, the visit was cut short. Incidents of this sort are so innumerable it is difficult to choose from them. I merely recount those that rise to the surface in my mind.

A British plane made a forced landing near our home, and the crew was destroyed in the flaming wreckage. The Germans buried them in a field along the railroad line. Immediately the population covered the graves with a mountain of flowers. Furious, the Boches posted a sentinel; thereupon the people boarded the train for the next station and, as they passed the graves, cast flowers out the train windows. Drunk with rage over the incident, the Germans secretly disinterred the bodies and removed them to an unknown spot.

Do you want to know what the miners of the district did by way of reprisal? They smoothed away the mounds of the German graves that are numerous in this region, and recovered them carefully with sod, so that it was impossible to locate them again.

HERE is the adventure of an aviator.

The farmers discovered in a field an RAF man who was in a coma. With great precaution they transported him to a secret place, then by car at night to still another spot that was even safer for hiding him. The aviator was a Belgian, although in British uniform; he understood French perfectly. He was given into our hands to take care of. Well, he said to us one day: "They put me in a hay wagon and the driver said to the farmer who had picked me up, 'But he'll die on the way, and what will I do with him?' The other replied, 'If he dies, you will lay him beside the road. There's no use being caught for the sake of a dead body!' I was afraid," the aviator said, "that these good people might get the impression I had breathed my last! For although I could hear them, I was in a coma, and unable to utter a single word."

I did much traveling around Haute-Savoie by reason of my activities. The people of Savoie are tough customers for an enemy to have on his hands; their resistance is often passive but paralyzing; and when it is active it is terrible. The proximity of the Swiss frontier offered the possibility of saving those pursued by Vichy or the Gestapo. Numerous Jews owe their safety to our valiant Savoyards.

The young men came from all sections of France, to seek refuge in the chalets high in the Alps. How cold they were, poor boys, in winter without covers and for the most part without shoes on their feet! In the daytime they worked as woodchoppers and carriers and preparers of food, aided by the peasants and young girls who, baskets on their backs, carried the bread up the mountains to the men of the Maquis. The latter resorted to many dangerous schemes to get themselves both firearms and clothing.

One day they were tipped off that a train of merchandise including two freight cars

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of shoes destined for the enemy would pass through a certain town in the night. With clubs they knocked out the sentinels, and in a flash, had loaded two trucks that waited close by. And what luck . . . heavy military shoes!

St. Gingolph, charming village on the banks of Lake Leman, became the theatre for scenes of atrocity. I wonder how many of the courageous friends with whom I lived for months I will find there on my return. They had taken me in, knowing full well that I was being tracked by the Gestapo and was hiding myself from them.

At St. Gingolph, there was a guard post manned by twenty Italians commanded by a fascist officer. This little Mussolini, full of zeal, organized many patrols up into the mountain of Novelle, where the youngest boys of the Maquis were in hiding.

Our young friends, weary of the arrogance and the menaces of the fascists, decided to try a stunt of their own. One evening five volunteers presented themselves at the guard post. One of them spoke fluent Italian, and asked to see the commanding officer in order to indicate to him the exact location of the Maquis.

When the officer arrived they downed him in a volley of fire. The other four comrades rushed through the place, disarming the twenty men, removing their uniforms, trousers and shoes. It was in their underdrawers that the twenty received their comrades who came to reinforce them.

While on the subject of the Maquis, I must demolish the legend that they are bandits. Absolutely false! They are workers who did not wish to go to forced labor in Germany, students, the sons of storekeepers. One finds also among them young men who, ashamed of the collaboration of their fathers who were little officials, came here to wash away their shame. One finds here professors who left their chairs at the university, lawyers, former army officers who did not wish to surrender. Well educated and intelligent, they first of all formed groups of men capable of working with their hands, who could sabotage German construction, paralyze transport and bear arms. These original groups became, later on, the first of the F.F.I.

Before leaving for England I found myself in a village that had been liberated by

the F.F.I. The Germans were only 30 kilometers away. Yet there one found a magnificent feeling for liberty. The F.F.I., after getting rid of collaborators, had, with the aid of the mayor, who himself was a member of the resistance movement, reorganized the municipality, suppressing the black market and other undemocratic things.

Here is a story of one of the exploits of the F.F.I. Twenty of them left at night in German trucks they had seized, to attack a train of sixteen cars guarded by eighty Boches. "The operation was scarcely a success," the young leader told me. "We only burned thirteen of the freight cars though we cut up the 80 Boches. But one must have escaped, for reinforcements arrived from all directions. We lost one truck and one of our men was slightly wounded."

TRAINS, as you doubtless know, were always made up with two-thirds of the carriages reserved for German troops. One day I found myself in one of these trains, in the southern zone. As we pulled into a station the F.F.I. invaded the platform, ordered the civilians out, then attacked the Boches. They took many prisoners before they retired from the scene.

I can't attempt to tell you all the interference with German transportation ef-

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fected by the men of the F.F.I. Here is one instance: A train of cement passing through a long tunnel, is derailed; another train running parallel to it and loaded with gasoline burst into flames. The Boches arrived with fire pumps, put out the fire, but wet the cement, which hardened. It was fifteen days before traffic through the tunnel could be resumed.

The great task for us, the women of the resistance movement, was often the transport of documents. Hard luck for those who were caught! But what ingenuity was shown in passing these dangerous papers. Thus, I have often appeared so obviously pregnant that my fellow travelers gave up a place on a train to me, a rare occurrence in such times of dearth of transportation.

My heart hammered a fearful tune sometimes during the examination of my identification papers and the searching of my baggage by the Boches.

WE lived for some time, my husband and I, in a city in central France. Our lodging was in a workmen's quarter, a four-story house; we were on the second floor on a court. The apartment consisted of two tiny rooms, with a bed in each, a table, three chairs, and a stove. It was so dark in the place we had to have a light all day long, and as there was no electricity, we used gas. During the day, except at meal times, the gas pressure was lowered, and after eight at night, it was barely possible to see. It was very gloomy. My comrades baptized the place "the Dump." But if those walls could speak, they would recite many a story of the resistance movement.

Our two sons, fleeing the Germans because they were of the age to be taken by the forced labor draft, came to join us and work with us there. We received, in this "Dump," nearly all the leaders of the Resistance. Tracts, newspapers, arms, explosives were hidden there. We shoved them under the beds along with vegetables and the coal. It was excruciating!

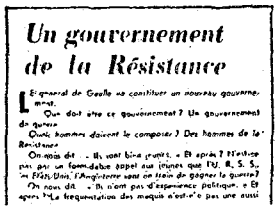
I told you that the building was inhabited by working people. You may well imagine that our household attracted attention, and that, without knowing precisely what was going on, folks did a lot of guessing. But never did anything untoward happen.

Better still, when someone came in our absence, our neighbors gave us all the details that could enable us to recognize who they were. We felt as if surrounded by a body guard and a host of accomplices. That lasted for six months. Unfortunately, a comrade arrested and tortured in the North revealed my husband's assumed name. Warned, we were obliged to depart.

When, a month later, I recognized one of my neighbors, she related that the Gestapo had come and had arrested the two persons who occupied the flat after we left, taking them for ourselves. But the woman who told me said: "We knew very well that you were with the Resistance. It was unfortunate we couldn't warn those who came after you, before the Boches arrived, but it wouldn't have been wise!"—Such an incident serves to show how close to everyone's heart was the success of the Resistance.

My native land is free. I am returning because I am urgently needed there. And I am happy that the Resistance has played such an important role in the liberation. Many of us recall how much it cost in patience, in fighting, and in bloodshed. Day after day in spite of executions, arrests, tortures, the patriots prepared for the arrival of the Allies and the reconstruction of free France.

Our sufferings tempered us, hardened us. That is why the Boche saw our people rise against him, overwhelmed by their desire for liberty, for justice and for human fraternity.


Un gouvernement de la Résistance

Franc-Tireur

A L'AVANT-GARDE DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE

QUATRIÈME ANNÉE. N° 50 100, Rue Reaumur (1er) ★ ★ ★ SAMEDI 2 SEPTEMBRE 1944 ★ ★ ★ Tél. : Gut. 80-60 ; Tur. 65-40 PRIX : 2 FRANCS

IL Y A CINQ ANS | La bataille de France touche à sa fin

This Underground paper has now come into the open.

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The Himmler Underground

MORE and more evidence turns up that nazi Germany has for some eighteen months been preparing an Underground organization to which will be entrusted the spread of nazi ideas both in and out of the Reich, until such time as a new conquest of the world can be attempted. The fascists have frequently taken their cue from progressive movements. They stole from them such terms as socialism, freedom, independence. They have stolen songs and slogans from them. This time they are trying to steal the name which has become one of the glorious symbols of our time, the name "Underground."

We know that the people will not confuse the criminal nazi Underground with the righteous Underground of the enslaved peoples fighting for freedom. In our opinion the nazi Underground will work primarily in Germany, but will certainly also attempt to extend its activities to other countries. In fact it may prove even more profitable for the nazi Underground to develop fascist movements in America, England, France, Latin America and other United Nations than in Germany itself. Against that nazi Underground it is essential for everyone to be on the alert from now on.

Against Fascism II

A FEW months ago FREE WORLD suggested that forums and discussion groups devote some time to considering not merely how to avert World War III, but also how best to fight against the spread of Fascism II.

Many organizations throughout the country have written us that they have adopted this suggestion. It merits the attention of more still. We repeat our recommendation that the danger of the survival of the fascist philosophy, even after the defeat of the Axis, is a topic that should be considered of major import in every public gathering in any way concerned with democracy's future.

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UNRRA—

Healer of Nations' Wounds

AS the armies of the United Nations sweep forward to victory on many fronts, hungry, sick and enslaved peoples wait hopefully for their coming, confident that those who bring death for the Axis will bring help for the oppressed.

But aid for stricken peoples is a task that armies on the march cannot successfully undertake, beyond the most temporary measures of relief. In this war civilian suffering, the flight of refugees from torture and death, the destruction of homes and of crops and all means of livelihood have taken place on a gigantic scale. The remedies require international planning and organization even as for war itself.

The recent UNRRA Conference in Montreal, Canada, was thus in reality a session of the "headquarters staff" of international leaders charged with mobilizing world resources to aid the liberated. The plans of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration have been painstakingly laid, during the past ten months. Now the moment is at hand when they must be carried out. The men at Montreal met as "generals" of a developing campaign to put the world back on its feet again.

Because this UNRRA Conference was vital to every freedom-loving nation, either as giver or receiver of aid, a FREE WORLD editor went to Montreal to get from the participants themselves their personal vision of the various phases of the global task now being launched. This symposium, in which outstanding delegates to the Conference express their views, is revealing of the spirit of the men at Montreal—men of 44 Allied and Associated Nations, each ready and able to think for many nations, as well as for his own. FREE WORLD is proud to bring to its readers this series of short exclusive articles by men who share in the responsibility for the reconstruction of devastated Europe, of war-torn China and other Far East countries.

ESSENTIAL FINDINGS

1 Priority in relief should be given in so far as possible to those United Nations who have suffered most grievously from the war. (Peoples like the Russians, Yugoslavs and Poles benefit by this.)

2. Aid should be extended to displaced persons, and to persecuted minorities in enemy or ex-enemy countries. (Chinese as well as European refugees benefit by the first part; Jews in Germany by the second part.)

3. Intruded enemy nationals may be sent home by UNRRA from liberated lands. (Czechoslovakia, for instance, benefits by this.)

4. UNRRA'S aid should be extended to the population of the Dodecanese Islands, who, though Italian by nationality, are Greeks by ties of blood.

5. Limited relief should be given Italy, but this should not be a precedent for other ex-enemy countries.

6. UNRRA must include in its care such United Nations as are of importance to Allied military operations and that may be stricken with famine or disease. (India will benefit from this.)

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A Message to Free World

LETTING THE PEOPLE KNOW WHAT THE LEADERS OF THE FREE WORLD ARE THINKING AND PLANNING IS THE TASK OF A FREE PRESS. OUR ENEMIES HOPE WE WILL BE CYNICAL ABOUT THE PEACE SO THAT THEY MAY MORE EASILY FIND THE TINDER THEY NEED FOR A NEW WAR. THOSE OF THE FREEDOM-LOVING NATIONS WHO TRY TO FIND A WAY FOR COOPERATION IN THE PEACE MUST BE UNDERSTOOD. THEY MUST BE LISTENED TO THOUGHTFULLY. THIS IS THE REPLY TO THE ENEMY WHO HOPES WE WILL FAIL TO KEEP THE PEACE. I AM GLAD FREE WORLD IS DOING ITS PART IN MAKING THIS COMMUNICATION POSSIBLE.

HERBERT H. LEHMAN
Director General, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

UNRRA FACES ACTION

By
L. B. PEARSON
Canadian Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States
Chairman of the Montreal UNRRA Conference

IN the ten months that have elapsed since its brilliant and auspicious inception at Atlantic City, UNRRA has been *digging into* the task ahead. The resolutions determining the scope of its operations adopted by the Council of the forty-four member governments were its guide posts.

To translate these resolutions into plans, their words into agreements, and in turn plans and agreements into operations, required more than ordinarily patient and painstaking effort. It required the single-minded determination of an administration inspired by the ends which they sought to achieve. It meant that though UNRRA's pace in the acceleration of the war tempo at times must have seemed painfully slow, the general objectives and the will to accomplish them were never lost in the critical period necessary to the building of an international structure and the formation of its plans.

Thus as the events of the war hastened the need for action, the term of probation for UNRRA came to an end, and the planning period had been carried to a successful conclusion. The comprehensive report of the administration's activities in the past ten months, presented by the Director General to the Council, listed an impressive record of accomplishments. The task of supplying relief and rehabilitation to the wartorn world began to assume reality with the convening of the Second Session of the Council in Montreal.

The Council met to examine the work of

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L. B. Pearson

the past months, to consider the status of the instrument it had created. It met to translate plans into actions, for it realized that quick and vigorous support was needed in order to convince a somewhat skeptical public of its intent of backing up words with deeds.

The scheduled meeting of the Council in accordance with its own rules, was in itself no solution to these problems. The assembling of forty-four nations, forty-four governments with different national interests, with special problems and separate points of view, was merely an added challenge to the spirit of United Nations cooperation of which so much has been said and upon which the future of our postwar world so heavily relies.

It was only in an atmosphere free from restraint, in a spirit of honest debate that the necessary interchange of ideas could take place. Nor were the doubts and indecisions attendant upon such an occasion lacking. Would the discussions so vital to UNRRA's future take place in an atmosphere of reality, or on some remote periphery to the world of events raging around it? Would the forty-four governments give freely of criticism, as well as of praise, and together meet the challenge of cooperation? Could the divergences of interest be reconciled in the form of internationally acceptable and applicable decisions?

In presenting his report to the Council, the Director General took occasion to remind the governments of their individual responsibilities. He pointed out that UNRRA's needs from the constituent members differed only in degree, that the good will and continued assistance of all was necessary in the solution of UNRRA's urgent problems. From some countries UNRRA would want mainly advice and information, from others it would require not only these but supplies, finance and expert personnel, and upon some others UNRRA would make heavier demands. He asked that the Council take the necessary action to meet the problems arising from the urgency of present-day developments, and above all, he asked for a reaffirmation of their faith and unity of purpose in the common cause they had together undertaken.

The delegates' response was unanimous. The principles of right international conduct superseded national interests. The rule of need was the yardstick by which their judgments were formed, their words were the answers to doubters. The small nations spoke as did the greater powers. They rose to demand action, to decry delay. They expressed gratification with the progress made during the ten months since the Atlantic City Session of the Council and urged driving ahead vigorously. They stressed the conviction that in practical experience UNRRA could gain what no imperfect blueprint could define.

The voice of their agreement was carried by radio into the homes of all their people, some of whom waited in the newly liberated areas for this reassurance of assistance. Through free and underground press their views were made known, their actions were recorded in films distributed to all parts of the world. They agreed on subjects on which it had been feared agreement would be impossible. They debated the issues before them with compassion and understanding. They reached practical decisions on major questions of policy. They successfully practiced the cooperation they had determined upon ten months before.

In addition to the report of the Direc-

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tor General, the Council heard the detailed reports of the Combined Boards and the Civil Affairs Committee of the Combined Chiefs of Staff. The supplying authorities pointed out that the most urgent relief needs for most commodities could probably be met from stocks of available supplies. Arrangements for close cooperation between UNRRA and the military were reported by the Combined Chiefs of Staff, who also stressed the determination of the armed forces to turn over the administration of civilian relief to the national governments and UNRRA at the earliest possible date.

Action Outlined

WITHIN the ten-day self-imposed limit, the Council accepted and acted upon an agenda containing the main points under discussion. Resolutions and reports submitted by the various committees were adopted. The important matter of providing limited relief to Italy was debated and even the victims of Italian aggression rose to support this resolution. It was determined that the "operations in Italy shall not constitute a precedent for operation in other enemy or ex-enemy countries" but that children and nursing and expectant mothers in Italy would receive help and that medical and sanitary supplies and assistance in the care and return to their homes would be given to those Italians whom the war has "displaced."

The complex and special problems arising in connection with the unfortunate millions of displaced persons received special consideration. This was no simple question. Some of the resolutions defined "displaced persons" so as to permit aid for those in territory never occupied by the enemy, or for the unoccupied areas of China, as well as for United Nationals impressed into forced labor in Germany. In addition, the Council extended UNRRA's assistance to include all those unfortunate victims of racial, religious and political persecution whether of ex-enemy nationality or not, and whether in enemy, ex-enemy or liberated territory. UNRRA was authorized further by the Council to send back home "intruded" enemy nationals whose continued presence in the homes of evicted citizens of a country blocked their return.

As part of its preparatory work UNRRA had undertaken the modification of International Sanitary Maritime and Aerial Conventions. Knowing that epidemics and disease recognize no boundaries, the Council endorsed the revision of these agreements, vesting in UNRRA during the emergency period the authority to carry on the international reporting and control of epidemics. The Council also authorized UNRRA to operate in enemy territory in order to provide medical assistance to the millions of displaced who in their desire to return home may, if not cared for, spread epidemic diseases such as yellow fever, cholera, typhus and smallpox.

Uniform standards of relief were adopted for the liberated areas of Europe and the Director General was empowered by the Council to exercise discretion in adjusting these standards as circumstances require in order to insure an equitable distribution of supplies among all nations, large and small, rich and poor. Provision was made for the admission of Denmark as a member of the Council when that country was freed from its nazi yoke.

Victims of the enemy

THE Council also recognized the necessity for giving special consideration to those countries which have suffered most from enemy action because of active resistance on their part. Relief was extended to the Dodecanese Islands, whose population is of Greek race but Italian nationality. Reservations and declarations by the Congress of the United States were accepted, as was a resolution extending UNRRA's scope to those areas, such as India, stricken by famine and disease and of importance to the military operations of the United Nations.

In all these steps taken by the Council, and in all the discussions leading up to them, the stress lay on the urgency for action. The resolutions adopted by the Council clarified and broadened the scope of the Administration. The responsibility to go on and carry to a vigorous conclusion UNRRA's tasks—and to achieve that which it had been empowered to do—now lies with the administration.

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UNRRA, however, can only succeed if the member governments, and the peoples behind those governments, back it to the limit and beyond; not merely with supplies and facilities and personnel, but with the full moral political support which it is entitled to receive. If governments base their relationship to UNRRA on national consideration, there will be no such support. The danger is not that any government will oppose UNRRA. The danger is indifference, doubts, prejudices.

If, however, UNRRA gets a vigorous, practical administration, and the full, steady and understanding support of its member governments it can, under the fine and devoted leadership of its Director General, play its part in leading ravaged humanity out of the swamps and wastelands of postwar desolation.

World Organization and UNRRA

By
The Right Honorable
RICHARD KIDSTON LAW
Minister of State for the United Kingdom

"UNRRA represents the growing cooperative activity of many nations," Canada's Prime Minister Mackenzie King told the Conference. "We are members of one another. The doctrine of mutual aid is the antithesis of the doctrine of force. . . ."

Does this mean that UNRRA is a step toward the World Organization that many hope will eliminate wars? As a cooperative effort, is it successfully binding the free nations together? FREE WORLD addressed these questions to Mr. Law, delegate of the United Kingdom. Here is his reply.

EVER since the first meeting of the Council of UNRRA nearly a year ago there was a growing restiveness among the member nations. The restiveness sprang from a doubt of UNRRA's capacity and intentions. So serious had this become that I felt, and I believe many others did too, that the Second Meeting of the Council might well dictate the fate of UNRRA. It was the more disturbing, this restiveness, inasmuch as there seemed also an unawareness of the significance of UNRRA in its relation to the whole field of cooperation between nations. It was not that anyone was not anxious for UNRRA to be a success, but there was a regrettable tendency to accept the possibility of defeat. With such an atmosphere you do not have to look for difficulties—they materialize out of the air and exist.

Well, this Second Meeting has been, in some ways, a difficult one. But it has been far more successful than I had expected it to be. At the First Meeting at Atlantic

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City we were dealing with hopes. At Montreal we dealt with facts. Facts are more stubborn. During the intervening months hoped-for victory has been translated by Allied Arms into the fact of success. The splendid fact in itself creates a difficulty. It is easy to be generous and far-sighted when planning for a future that seems still remote. But at Montreal we were faced not by a dream, but by the liberation of imprisoned countries. Their claims were immediate and pressing.

In such circumstances it might have been a case of every man for himself. This did not happen. Among all the nations, great and small, there was a genuine desire to resolve conflicting claims. There was no attempt on anyone's part to push his own country's claim at the expense of the needs of others. This attitude, which was intelligent as well as generous, has in particular an important bearing on two aspects of the future.

There has been a good deal of criticism of the administration of UNRRA. Such criticism has been unfair. Governor Lehman and his staff have had to deal with a problematical future. It was in this difficult and often discouraging atmosphere that they had to lay the ground plan, the planning which has now to be translated into action. Even now the reports on conditions in liberated countries are conflicting. We cannot know the real situation until we get right into the field.

That is why it is essential to realize that UNRRA is not a machine but an organism. It is, like a human organism, one which has to grow to meet growing responsibilities. It must therefore gain experience by seizing every opportunity to do a practical job of work. So will it develop its efficiency through action. To do this, UNRRA needs all the support of the member Governments. The criticism of UNRRA in the past has been a case very largely of our Governments, seeking the mote in the Administration's eye while neglecting the beam in their own. No administration could be fully effective unless the governments of the United Nations play their part. That is one of the reasons why the attitude shown at Montreal was, I hope, significant for the future.

The other aspect is in its relation to the whole future on which the door is now opening. If in the field of relief and rehabilitation men and nations could not agree on the course to be followed, then the great problems of military and political security, of social betterment and economic stability, would remain unsolved. That is the real problem with which we have been faced. Nations cannot pick and choose the corners of the field in which they are going to cooperate. It is all or nothing. This realization came, I believe, at Montreal. But realization, and indeed desire, are not in themselves enough. It is with the *will* to succeed that we, the delegates to the Conference at Montreal, must return to our countries.

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Europe's Displaced Persons

By

VLADIMIR S. HURBAN

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Czechoslovakia

This war has turned the world into shifting sands. Millions in Europe fled before the nazi murderers. Millions in Asia, too, were swept from their home regions by the flood-tides of battle and of famine. Large numbers of Germans intruded themselves as settlers in the occupied countries. Mr. Hurban's own nation has seen both sides of this problem of refugees and intruders, one of the most difficult UNRRA faces. For that reason, FREE WORLD asked his views.

I AM convinced that there is no probability of social, political and economic consolidation after the war without a speedy and fair solution of the problem of displaced persons.

The Nazis not only forced into Germany millions of Allied nationals, but redistributed forced labor on a hitherto unheard of scale among the various occupied countries. A very great number of German nationals were sent to the Allied occupied territories and lately many German mothers and children were evacuated, for instance, to Czechoslovakia.

The evacuation of the intruders and the repatriation of Allied citizens is an urgent and immense task and I would like to state that it cannot be mastered, except through the closest possible international collaboration. It cannot be attempted with the hope of success without a proper international mechanism. It is an absolute necessity, because no peace can be imagined while uprooted millions are on the move, and because no one nation can attempt a solution for herself alone without the collaboration of other nations.

Thus it is necessary that the international organizations such as UNRRA should make the suitable preparations and that all the interested Allied governments take the necessary steps to be able to collaborate in this international framework. The governments must prepare everything on national territory to receive the repatriates and to provide for their shelter, food and to introduce them again into the economic and communal life of the country as fully employed citizens.

I would like to emphasize that the process of repatriation has to be governed by three main considerations: speed, order and humanitarianism. These three principles should inspire all the plans and studies and animate the men who will have to execute them. The problem of repatriation is originally linked with the evacuation of the intruders into Allied territories. These should be returned to their respective countries as soon as possible, for

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otherwise they would constitute a heavy burden on the national communities of the Allied nations, and would further foster the hatred already sown.

This is especially important for Czechoslovakia, which became a country of refuge for the German population driven from the big industrial centers by the Allied bombardment of Germany.

The problem is very complex. A balance has to be found in the execution of the repatriation between the different interests involved, such as the defense against epidemics, the security needs, the military interest and many others.

Nothing is more important than the realization by those who will come into contact with the displaced masses, that these people have suffered for years under the police terror and in concentration camps and that they must be approached in a proper psychological manner.

Yugoslav Partisans in UNRRA Camps

By

DR. RUDOLF BICANIC

Representative of the
Royal Yugoslav Government
and of Tito, Marshal of Yugoslavia

Today, out of devastated Yugoslavia, UNRRA is transferring refugees to camps in North Africa, until their normal life can be resumed. They constitute about half of the 90,000 refugees, including thousands of Jews and Greeks whom UNRRA now has in camps.

EMIGRATION has its own psychology. There are emigrants who left their country before this war, prior to the nazi occupation or during the enemy conquest. These are political emigrants who were part of the ruling class who quit their position. They took their convictions with them into exile. And now they "lead" their country, speak in its name. Authoritative and legitimate, they live in the past, losing contact with their country. That is evident now when the time has come to return home. A certain fear has arisen. That is not only political fright. That is also a fear of difficulties in life to which these emigrants are not accustomed, having lived in the comfort of free countries.

The spirit of emigrants who left the country later, after having lived and fought under the conditions of occupation, is entirely different. These emigrants are active, they have faith in themselves, they are very adaptable even in the most difficult circumstances, and they wish to return home as soon as possible. The former group of emigrants consists of "leaders," politicians, and diplomats. The latter is a group of fighters and sufferers who are full of the new spirit that is being born in Europe.

An example of the latter type is found in the Yugoslav emigration of Partisans to the UNRRA camps in the Middle East. They are mostly members of families of Partisan fighters, who had been interned by the Italians and had lived for years in Italian concentration camps under the most harsh conditions. Further, they are refugees from the Dalmatian coast and islands who were forced to leave the country in the face of the German might in 1943 after the revolt at the time of the collapse of Italy.

Allied help was invaluable. People were taken to Egypt on British ships, and the British organization MERRA took care of them at first. UNRRA undertook the task later. There are about 40,000 persons, mostly women and children, a few veterans and wounded. They are peasants, seamen, fishermen, intellectuals, and craftsmen. Their situation was very difficult. They were suffering and hungry for years, with-

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out clothing and shoes, ill and without medical care. Everything had to start from the beginning.

If the position of those men was difficult, their spirit was high, and that spirit helped them to overcome the grave conditions. Imagine people from the shores of the blue Adriatic, from Dalmatian olive groves and vineyards, set down in the midst of Egypt's sandy desert. From stone houses into tents, in the terrible heat without trees and grass and shade. The change in living conditions and climate in the beginning caused their health to deteriorate and, worst of all, it caused the death of children. But medical care and organized help of UNRRA quickly brought things to a normal state.

First-aid stations, a hospital with 600 beds, child welfare and prenatal care units were established. The war water, pasteurized milk, fat—everything is prepared for them. Our own physicians, English doctors and pediatricians receive the youngsters in a clean tent. Mothers bring them in and leave them in competent hands, and then go to work, or to do the washing. The British Army gave food, having foreseen the need of providing rations for refugees. The difficult question of clothing has been solved with gifts from the American Red Cross. Likewise, Yugoslav emigrants from all parts of the world—from America, Australia, and other countries—made their contributions. Due to special conditions, the Yugoslav Government of Purich-Mihailovich did not participate in that help.

Emigrés Help Themselves

IT is significant that the emigrants in the camps did not wait helplessly, nor demand that everything be done for them by others. They began to work immediately in order to better their status. Accustomed to work and action, they could not remain a passive object of charity even in a refugee camp in the desert.

They departed from their country well organized. The provisional government of Marshal Tito, the National Liberation Committee of Yugoslavia, organized a Central Committee and local committees for the camps. The role of supervision was divided between UNRRA and the camp committees. UNRRA takes care of the supplies and equipment of the camps, as well as maintaining good relations with the Egyptian Government which welcomed the Partisans into their country. The camp committees concern themselves with internal organization, the education and the welfare of the members of the camps. In spite of the difficult conditions and the understandable sensitiveness of the emigrants, things are going smoothly.

The activity of the people is especially significant. They cannot and will not be without work. Quickly, they found some work to do, as that of repairing the camps, building barracks, roads, making bricks, making objects out of wood, brooms, brushes, household articles, beds, cupboards, chairs, shoes, fishing nets.

Great care is devoted to education. There are several schools for children, and even secondary schools. If there are any illiterates in the camp, courses are immediately organized for them. Their own professional teachers instruct them. Foreign languages and music are favorites of the curriculum. There is a great need for books, for there exists real enthusiasm for reading. Of course news from the homeland comes first, and therefore, the radio is listened to religiously. Every camp issues its own newspaper for adults, for youth, and for children. These newspapers are published primitively and with ordinary means; nevertheless, they are issued. The reborn generation wants to express itself.

Cultural exhibitions have reached a certain height. Women's and youths' organizations are particularly active. In one camp alone, 395 meetings, 25 conferences, and 2 camp general meetings were held in one month. At the same time, the youth organization held 137 meetings and 4 camp conferences. They have their own theatre. The actors are giving performances in Cairo with great success. The singing choirs are very popular, particularly among the Allied soldiers. The Slav soul expresses its sorrows and hopes through songs.

Sports clubs are also organized, and they have matches with Allied soldiers in football, swimming, and athletics.

This spirit must be understood. These men cannot allow themselves to be mere passive objects, even if care is given them with the best intentions. The very meaning

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of the fight for liberation is that they rose against those who intended to make obedient servants out of them, and to impose foreign rule upon them.

In the course of the fight for liberation, tremendous national energies were developed, and these are now coming to the fore everywhere in the country and even in the emigrant camps in the Egyptian desert. These energies should be utilized for constructive purposes, they must not be suppressed or rejected. No one could express better the meaning of this spirit than did a woman in the camp who, in the closing words of an article which she wrote, addressed her countrymen as follows:

"Keep working, dear friends. When you get tired, remember our homes, our fighters, our suffering people. So, keep working—we have to get home soon."

Resistance Movement and UNRRA

By

FELIKS GROSS

Secretary General of the Central and Eastern European Planning Board

Everywhere in Europe where the nazi heel has dug into human soul and flesh, people have secretly organized to resist the tyrant and to rob him of victory by an underground war for liberation. Has this gallant warfare of populations lessened or increased their sufferings and the relief they will need through UNRRA? FREE WORLD put the question to Feliks Gross of Poland.

PARTISAN warfare in this war has its economic and social consequences. The more the country resists the invader, the more is she devastated and ruined. That's the German and fascist method. Repression, they think, will stop the resistance of the free peoples, and that, for them, means murder of hostages, burning down villages, mass killing of the entire population, pillaging and robbing.

Lidice became a symbol of nazi cruelty. But Lidice is not an isolated case. There are hundreds of Lidices in Europe—in Yugoslavia, Poland, Russia and Greece, hundreds of places burned to the ground, their population slain or deported for slave labor and their property looted. Between Fiume and Split in Yugoslavia, hundreds of small villages have been burned down.

In Warsaw, after sixty days of incomparable resistance in the fight against the Germans, more than half of the total buildings are destroyed according to recent

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reports. There is no water, no food. More than 170,000 civilians, including women and children were deported to the concentration camp in Pruszkow, an open-air camp without shelter and water. Scarlet and typhoid fever are spreading rapidly.

Millions of people who survived the German "scorched earth" policy in Russia lost all their property, including food and clothing. We read in our newspapers about the resistance movement and the activities of guerrillas, without paying enough attention to the economic consequences of such resistance. When the partisans are forced to withdraw, after their task is accomplished, the population remains at the mercy of the Germans.

A soldier of a regular army knows that at home his government is taking care of his family. He himself gets adequate food and clothing. How different is and was the plight of a maquis in France, or of an underground fighter in Eastern Europe. These men are underfed, inadequately clothed, their families exposed to hunger and mortal danger.

Resisters Suffer More

THE liberation from the German yoke must be followed by liberation from hunger and misery. The resisting countries suffer more—and deserve more help from UNRRA. It is not only a matter of simple justice but a matter of necessity, because these countries have suffered greater devastation.

The UNRRA Conference in Montreal took into consideration the situation that arose from resistance. A resolution was passed which settles this problem. Obviously, it is hard to measure the resistance, whether greater or smaller. There is no yardstick which could facilitate our estimates. Hence, the cautious wording of the UNRRA resolution:

> "That special weight and urgency shall be given to the needs of those countries in which the extent of devastation and of the sufferings of the people in a part or the whole of their respective areas is greater and has resulted from hostilities and occupation by the enemy and active resistance in the struggle against the enemy."

It is essential that relief shall come immediately after the liberation of the resisting countries and before the people are permitted to take political decisions. Hungry and exhausted people cannot wait. They need medicines—they need food. They have great hope that UNRRA will satisfy their immediate needs. Delay would be disastrous and would endanger the confidence of the people in the United Nations Organization. Moreover, as was said, UNRRA relief will have a deep political significance in the liberated areas. Most of the liberated countries will face important political decisions. It is not a good thing for hungry people to have to decide matters which may determine their future and their history for years. Hunger is a bad adviser. After the initial hunger is satisfied —emotions will be more controlled by reason, and judgments will be more balanced and mature.

UNRRA is only a first step in postwar settlement. Its work is pragmatically tied together with the next immediate steps in reconstruction and international cooperation. UNRRA's work will lose its significance unless there is another body capable of carrying on the reconstruction and rehabilitation work after UNRRA terminates its activities.

Reconstruction and rehabilitation must be equally organized on an international basis. International relief, as well as reconstruction, requires a system of international cooperation of all nations, small and large, a system which would exclude any domination of the small nations by the great powers.

It would be tragic, if after UNRRA fulfills its humanitarian task of feeding and sheltering the needy people, a former soldier or underground fighter were confronted with unemployment, uncertainty and international insecurity. Although UNRRA is only part of an entity, which, let us hope, will emerge from the sufferings of nations, we will judge our abilities for international cooperation, not by the work of UNRRA alone—that's probably the easiest part of our task—but by results of our efforts to build a peaceful, cooperating world community, based on justice and international democracy. And that is the work which must follow UNRRA's work.

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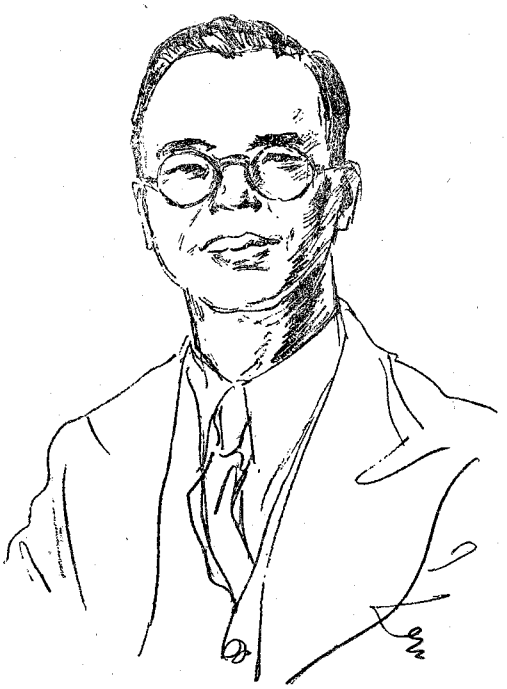

The Far East Committee of UNRRA

By

TINGFU F. TSIANG

Chief Political Secretary
of Executive Yuan, China

War's ravages among the peoples of China, India and other parts of the Far East are so great as almost to defy conception by the Western World. It is heartening to know that the solicitude of the United Nations reaches to them, and that special plans to aid them have been made through UNRRA. Tingfu F. Tsiang was asked to write for FREE WORLD on the vital role of UNRRA in the Far East.

UNRRA has two regional committees, one for Europe and one for the Far East. Being committees of the Council, they are policy-making bodies. The resolutions creating them endowed them with the same functions and powers.

But actual conditions in the Far East are quite different from those prevailing in Europe. The Far East is a much bigger region than Europe; the distances between the Eastern States are infinitely vaster. Furthermore, there is much less homogeneity within the Far Eastern region than within Europe. Historical and cultural background, geographical situation, social and political pattern and habits of living and consumption are all different as we travel from island to island in the South Pacific and as we travel from country to country on the Asiatic continent. The Far Eastern Committee must face these facts honestly.

The factual situation in the Far East calls for decentralization. If the Committee should attempt to interfere in administrative or technical detail, we would be bogged down in cablegrams, resolutions, committees and sub-committees. Whatever matters of common concern appear, the Committee must deal with them rapidly and effectively. Aside from such matters, the main reliance must be put on direct contact between the Director General and his staff on the one side and the individual governments or administrations on the other.

For this reason, the decision of UNRRA to establish one office in Chungking and one office in Sydney is a realistic step in the right direction.

The office in Chungking will contact the Chinese Government. For the time being, it will concern itself mainly with planning and preparation. The office in Sydney will at first contact the Australian, New Zealand and Dutch East Indies authorities. The work of the two offices, in so far as it raises points of policy, will be subject to

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review by the Far Eastern Regional Committee.

The fact that the war in Europe will be finished one year ahead of the war in the Far East and the fact that European nations outnumber Far Eastern nations in the Council have led some people to fear that the Far East might be neglected by UNRRA. I have no such fears. In all the deliberations of the Council, I have not detected the least discrimination. In this matter, the Council is truly worthy of the new order which the United Nations are trying to create.

Cooperation in the Far East

WITHIN the Far Eastern Region and within the Committee, the spirit of mutual aid and intimate cooperation prevails. On China's part, there is no claim of priority or superiority of rights over other Far Eastern countries. On their part, they generously recognize that the task of UNRRA in China will be the largest single task in the whole Far East.

The Chinese Government this spring appointed a special commission to plan postwar relief and rehabilitation. That Commission has completed its labors and will soon transmit its report to UNRRA. I will summarize here its major conclusions.

(1) The Commission finds that the task of postwar relief and rehabilitation in China will be colossal, entirely beyond the resources of UNRRA and of the Chinese Government. It recommends that the Government and UNRRA should share in the work; what cannot be accomplished within two years should be spread out and accomplished by the Government alone.

(2) The Commission draws the attention of UNRRA to the problem of inflation in China, and expresses the hope that UNRRA's work may studiously avoid worsening the problem of inflation. To achieve this objective, it suggests that relief should, as far as possible, take the form of public works, where labor will be paid mostly in relief supplies. It also suggests that part of relief supplies should be sold for Chinese currency, to be used for such relief and rehabilitation purposes as seem suitable.

(3) The Commission stresses the importance of rehabilitation of transportation within China. It believes that with such rehabilitation, China's own productive forces will be released and outside aid will be rendered less necessary.

Next to transport, China's greatest need is medical aid. Seven long years of malnutrition have resulted in rise of the sickness rate. Movement of millions of refugees across the country might spread disease. Neither in medical supplies nor in medical personnel, can China without substantial aid from UNRRA cope with the health problem after the war.

Next to health, China needs the aid of UNRRA in rehabilitation of flooded areas and in repair of river dikes. A minimum expenditure in such projects would increase by a large amount the agricultural production of China. If neglected, great disaster might ensue.

The prospects of relief and rehabilitation in China are somewhat uncertain. The Chinese Government and people must face the future with stoical courage. While they can be sure of UNRRA's good will, they must not expect too much. This, I would say, is true of all the war-stricken countries, in the Far East as well as in Europe.

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BOOKS

Executive Versus Congress

MEET YOUR CONGRESS, by John T. Flynn. Doubleday, Doran. 157 pages. $2.00

IT is impossible to "Meet Your Congress" without meeting Mr. Flynn. Now, Mr. Flynn is a thoroughly shrewd citizen of decided opinions about American political affairs. His knowledge of Congress, of how it functions, of when it falters, of why it fights with the President, is set forth in a highly valuable tract; and, while Mr. Flynn's well known dissenting opinions concerning most of the work of the "Country Squire in the White House" and of the Congress which has worked and fought with him for the past eleven years do not flagrantly intrude themselves into his appraisal of the role of Congress in representative government, they appear to this reviewer to set the framework for much which he has to say on the subject.

My own reaction is that it is an excellent thing to "meet your Congress" with Mr. Flynn, but that it would be well to have a second and third meeting with other guides. Mr. Flynn is readable and informative, and, to those who will stop and question his more dogmatic statements, usefully provocative. It would be well for every voter to read what Mr. Flynn has to say on his Congress, particularly if it induces the voter also to look around to find out what others have to say.

Mr. Flynn enables one to see and feel Congress in action, and he again brings sharply into focus the fact that if "We the People" do not like Congress, we'd better look into the mirror before we next go to the ballot box.

But the implications and emphasis of Mr. Flynn's appraisal seem to be nearly all on the side of increasing the authority of Congress, decreasing the powers of the Executive, or diminishing the role of both in the interests of the separate states. He remarks that "the development of free government is one of the struggles between the Executive for power and the representatives of the people to curb that power." And he appears almost automatically to accept the thesis that contracting the role of the Executive and expanding the role of Congress are a boon to "free government." That is a tenable opinion, but it seems to me to be a debatable opinion and one which very much needs to be debated.

No doubt Mr. Flynn believes that the enlarged powers of the Executive since 1933 have been harmful to "free government," but it is a significant fact that the two most recent opposition candidates, Wendell Willkie in 1940 and Governor Thomas E. Dewey in 1944, both, however much they have denied it in detail, embraced the substance of a planned-economy conception of the Federal Government—a conception of Federal Government which leads inevitably to greater centralization of power in the National Government and large investment of executive authority in the hands of the President.

The extent to which Governor Dewey, for example, endorsed the measures and viewpoints of the New Deal during the course of his campaign was almost breathtaking. In industry, agriculture, finance and labor he supported a degree of government intervention in the free workings of the economic system which could be carried out only by a continuance, and very probably by an extension of federal powers, and which rested on the proposition that the Federal Government would play a continuing and far reaching partnership in directing the economic life of the Nation after the war.

Fundamentally, the rather steady growth of centralized government in the United States throughout a good part of the twentieth century has seemed to me a rather natural evolution of the federal system in which the American people were laying hold of instruments of government equal in scope to the size of the national problems which they were facing. And it seems to me that it remains to be proved that, on balance, free government has been disserved.

Mr. Flynn's book is a welcome stimulus to thinking about this question, and, at a time when the seeds of representative government will soon be growing again in many parts of the world, it is a good thing to think about.

ROSCOE DRUMMOND

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Save the World from Anarchy

WOODROW WILSON AND THE LOST PEACE, by Thomas A. Bailey. Macmillan. 370 pages. $3.00

THIS is a difficult book to "evaluate" if I may presume to use an expression dear to the trained reviewer. It is particularly difficult for one who viewed the treaty battles in Paris and in Washington from a point of vantage and received impressions and reached conclusions which the disclosures of secondary documents are extremely unlikely to affect, much less dislodge.

Early in the Conference that great statesman and trained journalist Georges Clemenceau urged upon me, and doubtless upon others to "beware of documents. They are the pitfalls," he insisted, "that with cunning purposes are placed in the path of the future historian." I pass this injunction on to the many who will follow in the Professor's footsteps—and I trust they will emulate his conscientious industry. It is also true that Professor Bailey's researches as to what took place during the Paris negotiations have a virtue that is generally lacking in the literature on the subject that is mushrooming today, in spite of paper shortages. He is neither a Wilson hater nor idolater. He tells the story as he sees it without fear or favor and his account of the Shantung settlement (or "unsettlement" as some chose to call it) is the best short review of a most complicated problem I have seen. Within the limits of this review it will only be possible for me to point out two of the misleading impressions which this reviewer has received from reading this painstaking volume. His judgment is admittedly fallible and it cannot be denied that as yet there is no absolutely infallible guide to the diplomatic maze that was spun in Paris in 1919 but it is unfair to characterize President Wilson's visits to the English and the Italian cities as "junkets." They were inspired by a desire to secure the support of the people for his peace policies which he thought was lacking in their leaders, as in some of them it most certainly was. Whether the tour was a wise or an unwise move was, and is, debatable. Yet it is, as here, often overlooked that, owing to the delay in assembling the Conference, there was nothing else for the President to do.

Professor Bailey conveys the impression that President Wilson was in part at least if not wholly responsible for the delay in assembling the first Parliament of Man. Nothing can be more misleading. Wilson was the victim not the promoter of this delay. He was slow in learning that since November 11 he could no longer dictate the plans and the agenda of the Allied and Associated powers. And there were some valid reasons for the delay which should be, at least briefly, enumerated. Lloyd George held that Wilson had been greatly weakened by the Republican victory at the polls in November,—and in Europe he undoubtedly was. Knowing the battles that lay ahead the little Welshman wanted a rousing victory at the polls —and he got it. Clemenceau wanted a vote of confidence from his Chambers and he got it. For the moment, in the hour of glorious victory, the deputies forgot the old feuds and cheered the Father of Victory. And all that took time.

But the strongest reason against the immediate assembly of the Conference, and it was a substantial one, is to be found in the situation in defeated Germany. And this is ignored in this volume as in so many others.

I was present with Colonel House when he warned Clemenceau that there was world-wide dissatisfaction over the delay. "The people are murmuring, their murmurs are growing louder," commented Colonel House. "I know they are," replied the Tiger, "but they would not murmur, they would *yell* were we to press

Woodrow Wilson
and the Lost Peace

By Thomas A. Bailey

This critical interpretation of the part played by the United States in making the Treaty of Versailles, with particular attention to Wilson, is not only a keen evaluation but also an absorbing story of one of the most significant episodes in history. "One of the most vigorous and convincing analyses of peace problems, specific or general, which has been offered."
—*Boston Herald* $3.00

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negotiations with a government which in a sense Mr. Wilson created or at least made possible, yet which according to our best, and I may say very unwelcome information, may be kicked out at any moment."

Unfortunately, these fears were only too well founded. Germany was seething with insurrectionary movements and unruly disbanded soldiers. The Spartacists were in control of not a few districts and the Soviet Ambassador in Berlin, with apparently large funds at his disposal, with or without the approval of Moscow, seemed to control the situation.

I well recall Clemenceau's thoughtful words at this critical moment: "Unfortunately most, indeed all the old Social Democratic leaders upon whom we could place a measure of confidence are dead. Bebel, the Elder Liebknecht, Sanger, I knew them all. They are gone and the new helmsmen of the party we do not know at all. From afar they seem to be most inexperienced and lacking in the support of their own people. My dear friend, tell President Wilson I share his impatience. Yes, we must make haste—but slowly—surely."

Professor Bailey is greatly concerned, and well he might be, as to how the lost peace may be retrieved. Here I can only assist in relating in a helpful spirit at least how it was lost and how it may be lost again, for he must be blind indeed who does not see that the side-stepping proclivities of war-racked and war-weary people are putting in an appearance again as they did in 1919. My Diary is studded with pictures of the struggles of the French to have force behind the Covenant and power in the hands of the Council of the League. I cull this from my notes on one of the meetings early in April: "M. Larnaude (the 2nd French delegate) was very angry. His eyes grew small and his nose swelled; he shook his finger across the peace table and shouted 'unless you promise an international force stationed on the Rhine and unless steps are immediately taken to carry out your promises, there will be no League of Nations and perhaps no peace.' And M. Bourgeois (1st French Delegate) pounded on the table in complete approval of his colleague's ultimatum."

The stormy session ran on for five hours. Again and again Lord Robert Cecil stated "that unless the impending danger was in plain view it would be impossible for a responsible minister of the British Crown to place a portion of the British Army under the command of a general who was not a British subject. As for himself he would not presume to place such a suggestion before the constitutional advisers of the King."

President Wilson stood with Lord Robert

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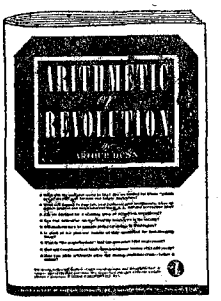

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Cecil. He assured the Commission "that in his judgment, before any portion of the armed forces of the United States could be placed permanently under foreign or even international control an amendment of the Constitution would be required."

But M. Bourgeois was not to be silenced, nor would he admit defeat. The gist of what he now said was this: "this permanent international force on the Rhine was regarded in France as the cornerstone of the whole peace edifice. It would be sheer madness to attempt to erect the edifice of security upon any other than a concrete military foundation."

The conservative view prevailed, or rather the easiest way was pursued. The League without "teeth" that was to save the world from anarchy became a second-class debating society. Even a mountebank like Mussolini could defy it and escape punishment!

There is a sequel to this incident; how I would like to omit it! But it is the lesson of the day, of the dark day in which we are living, and all the rest is verbiage. In my Diary under date of April 11th (1919) I find these words which are not pleasant to recall—but they should not be—indeed must never be forgotten.

"While they gave us no new information I should say that whenever the French plan of putting force behind the League was projected into the discussions, it was warmly supported by Dmowski (Poland) Vesnitch (Serbia) Kramar (Czechoslovakia) and Hymans (Belgium). When the meager sop of consolation (Art. IX of the Covenant) was handed out, Roman Dmowski of Poland said:

"I had hoped that our distinguished and most welcome visitors from across the seas, broad as well as narrow, (the delegates from America, from Britain and from the British Overseas Dominions) would carefully weigh the unanimous opinion of those unfortunate peoples who dwell so near the cave where the wolf pack lowers."

Upon these words in 1943 I made the following comment: "It is sad to admit that these five countries were the first to suffer from the failure of the Conference to take the precautionary measures which their representatives so frequently and so eloquently advocated."

When the day of Settlement dawns this incident should illuminate the agenda of the Conference; most of the rest is surplus baggage—or ornate literature, if it is wished to be complimentary. Certainly these prescient words should guide the deliberations which may result in the salvation of a battered world, or in the decision, should our civilization be deemed worth saving "to go under ground."

STEPHEN BONSAL.

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A Check List of Forthcoming Books

BALKAN BACKGROUND, by Bernard Newman. Macmillan. This review of the Balkans takes up each country separately, giving information on the racial origins of the peoples of Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece and Turkey, on their histories, economic problems and present (1943) conditions. A brief general summary treats of the natural similarities in these peasant countries, the nature of the people and the influence outside factors have had on the Balkan scene.

•

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF WORLD AGRICULTURE, by Karl Brandt. W. W. Norton. A study of the world food situation in which Dr. Brandt discusses the changes war has forced upon agriculture, and outlines policies for the peace era. He examines the first World War and its effect upon world agriculture, the trends of the twenties and thirties, the present war in relation to the food problems inside fortress Europe and the Japanese occupied areas, and the agricultural adjustments that will be required during the demobilization period.

•

BRAVE MEN, by Ernie Pyle. Henry Holt. Like his first book, the Pulitzer prize-winning *Here Is Your War,* Ernie Pyle's *Brave Men* reports the human side of the war. Based upon his dispatches as cabled from Sicily, Anzio, England and France, it covers the period from July 1943 to September 1944.

•

GENERAL IKE. A Biography of Dwight D. Eisenhower, by Alden Hatch. Henry Holt. The story of General Eisenhower's life. The author follows General Ike's life and career from his Kansas boyhood up to his present role as commanding general of the invasion forces.

•

FIGHTING LIBERAL. An Autobiography, by George W. Norris. The late Senator Norris' own review of his life which tells of his childhood on an Ohio farm, his struggle for an education and his Washington career, where after his election to Congress in 1903 he served for forty years.

To Men of Good Will

"CO-OPS PLAN FOR THE POST WAR WORLD." Cooperative League of the U.S.A. $.50

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Democracy on Paper

PRELUDE TO SILENCE, by Arnold Brecht. Oxford University Press. 146 *pages.* $2.00

I DON'T know whether Arnold Brecht, high-ranking official of the German civil service during the Weimar period, has the ambition of playing a political role in post-Hitler Germany. If so, that would be too bad, for this man, though he appears to be sincere, proves by his book "Prelude to Silence" (Oxford University Press) that he is incapable of understanding the German problem. He is still bewildered by the fact that the Nazis could ever come to power, and it is beyond his formalistic mind—so typical of the higher ranks of the Weimar bureaucracy—that definitions, constitutions or laws alone do not create nations and do not prevent people from trespassing them. Hopelessly entangled in a network of legalistic phrases, Brecht cannot conceive of the possibility of swift action to crush the enemy of liberty, preferring instead to admonish him to remain "constitutional."

In spite of his presumably honest efforts to discover what is wrong with Germany, Brecht is, nevertheless, trying to confuse the reader with a pedantic terminology. His definition of fascism which, in the case of National Socialism, is particularly erroneous, gives him the opportunity of twisting a good deal of the history of Weimar in much the same manner as Shuster and Bergstraesser have done it. To Brecht, the nationalist parties in pre-Hitler Germany were not fascist, which, in a narrow and formalistic sense, is correct. But they were reactionary and they promoted the idea of a war of revenge, and in that respect they became rallying centers for fascist aspirations.

At one time, Brecht seems to see the light. On page 141 he says that the legalistic safeguards for a certain article of the Constitution proved inadequate, "especially in a country with authoritarian tradition." Very well, the rulers of the Weimar Republic, instead of permitting their enemies to gain strength "legally," first should have destroyed them, and with them the authoritarian tradition, and then should have started democracy. That German democracy remained merely on paper, disregarded by both "conservatives" and fascists, is largely the fault of people like Brecht, who were unable or unwilling to see the essential things and to act accordingly. I am afraid that these people will be of little help in a new Germany, if it really is to be a new one.

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WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

There are many conflicting views about the tentative agreement reached by the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. But one thing is sure—that the results of the Conference, whether good or bad, will have far reaching effects on the peace of the world for generations to come. The interpretation of Dumbarton by *SIR NORMAN ANGELL* is important because of his qualities of keen analysis and his experience in judging developments in the contemporary scene. He is a Nobel Peace Prize winner and author of the best seller, *Let the People Know.*

Having just completed a tour of the French war front *HUGH BAILLIE,* president of the United Press, is now in London. Twenty-nine years ago *MR. BAILLIE* left the *Los Angeles Record* to join the United Press. From then on he pursued an upward and eastward course—working for UP in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, New York and Washington. He became its president in 1935.

"Germany on the Anvil" is the second contribution *HERBERT COREY* has made to FREE WORLD in recent months. His first was "Allied Generalship Outsmarts Hitler" published in our September issue. An outstanding journalist, he was a war correspondent throughout World War I and is a close student of military and political affairs. Included in his works are *The Truth About Hoover* and *The Army Means Business.*

An accomplished actress and opera singer, *HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS* has in recent years devoted most of her time to state and national politics. Although long interested in world affairs her concern for California's Dust Bowl refugees and her fear of nazism—a fear strengthened when she visited Germany in the late thirties to sing in Vienna—led her to take an active part in politics. She is now a Democratic candidate for Congress from Hollywood's Fourteenth District.

Our cover design was drawn by *STAN FRAYDAS* who will be recognized by our readers as a regular contributor to FREE WORLD pages. A Belgian citizen, he left his native country two days before the Germans entered Brussels, and was with the Belgian Army in France during the brief interlude before the Armistice. Since his arrival in the United States in 1941, he has worked almost exclusively in the political field, with political cartoons, "spot," or illustrations published in the *New York Times, PM, American Mercury* and *La Voix de France.*

This month's poem, "Man on the Dark High Road," was written by *JOSEPH JOEL KEITH,* editor of the fortnightly World Citizen department for *Script* and author of *The Proud People.*

LUCIANO F. MOLINAS, ex-governor of the province of Santa Fé, is one of the three Argentineans now in Montevideo, Uruguay, fighting to keep the flame of Argentine democracy alive. The other two men are Rudescindo Sayago and Guillermo Korn. (In our October issue we published an article by Mr. Korn, well known Argentine newspaper man, which told of the Underground's struggle against the new world fascists.) Today from his refuge in Uruguay *DR. MOLINAS,* who is considered as a leader-in-exile of the Argentine people, continues his fight against the military dictatorship that has established itself in his native country.

JAMES G. PATTON, author of "U. S. Jobs and World Democracy," is a Kansan by birth and has been one of this country's agricultural leaders for many years. In addition to being president of the Farmers Cooperative Union, he is an agricultural representative to the Office of Economic Stabilization.

LAURA VITRAY was formerly Sunday editor of the *Washington Post* and associate editor of *McCall's* magazine. She also spent two years with the United States Labor Department, and has acted as adviser to the Automotive Council for War Production on employment policies affecting the welfare of women workers and their families. She is now associate American editor of FREE WORLD.

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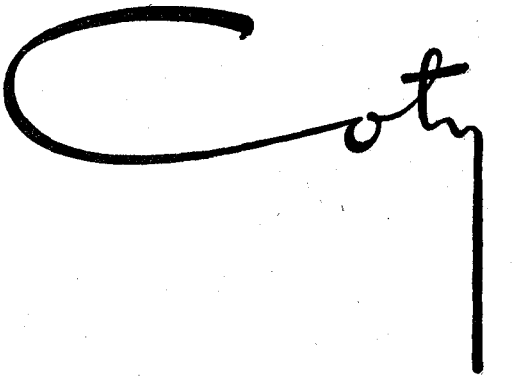

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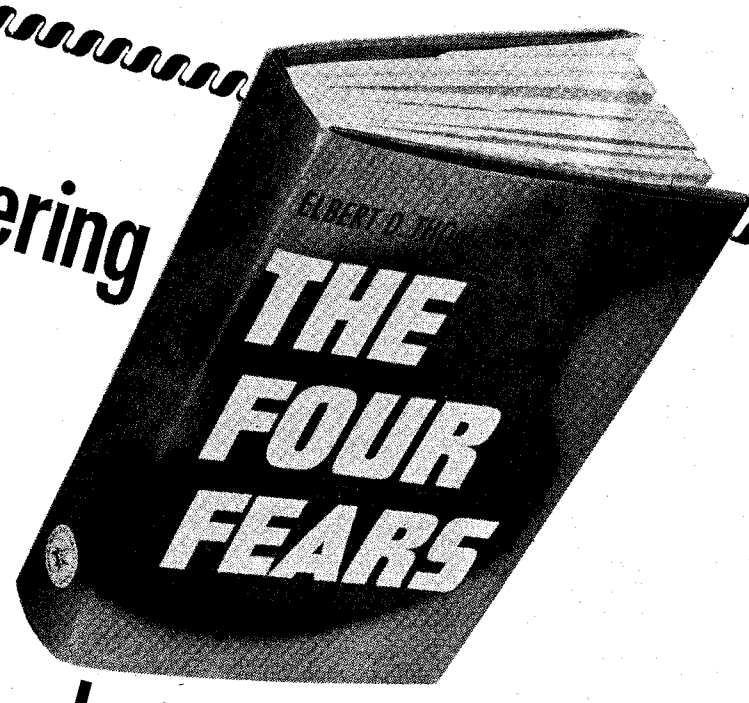

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